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POLICY RESOLUTIONS

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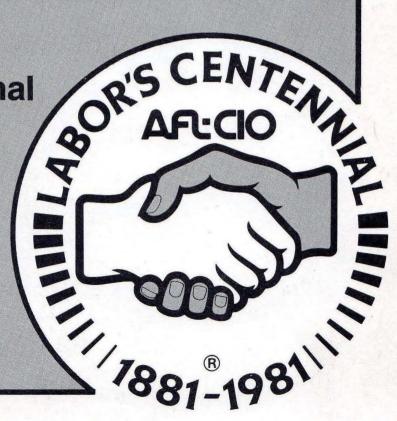
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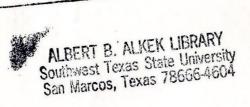
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Economic and Social Issues

The National Economy

The hollow promises of the Reagan Economic Program are a smokescreen to conceal a massive transfer of income away from workers, away from low- and middle-income Americans, to the pockets of the wealthy and the profits of big corporations.

The blatant policies of the Reagan Administration are threatening the jobs and the living standards of America's working men and women and endangering the sense of fair play and social justice that binds and unifies America.

These Reagan Administration policies add up to class warfare against the disadvantaged, the poor and the working people of America. They will put more people out of work and aggravate inflation. They will add to inequity, unfairness and divisiveness. These policies must be exposed, the damage minimized and the course reversed.

The AFL-CIO repeats its strong support for the proposition that inflation must be reduced, the unemployed put back to work, productivity and industrial strength restored, and federal programs made more effective and efficient. We do not agree with the economic program spelled out by the Reagan Administration and embraced by Congress in 1981 for it will not meet these objectives.

The Reagan economic program requires more sacrifice from those who have little, to give to those who already have much. It substitutes unrestrained market power for social responsibility and human concerns. It shortchanges sound economic growth by cutting back programs to achieve energy independence, rebuild the nation's transportation system, revitalize urban areas, and safeguard the environment.

The key elements of the Reagan Administration's program—huge cuts in federal spending and taxes—are now on the books.

We believe Congress and the nation must take drastic action as the Reagan economic program does not work—as it fails to lift the American economy out of recessionary high unemployment and fails to reduce inflation. As present unemployment-inflation-high interest rate conditions continue, there must be prompt action to reverse the direction of economic policy and adopt policies that deal effectively and fairly with the causes of inflation and the hardship of unemployment.

Such policies must base any sharing of austerity in the fight on inflation on the ability to sacrifice and must not demand even more sacrifice from those who know only austerity. They must also include adequate resources to provide needed investment in specific industrial and geographic sectors within an overall employment program.

The basic principles behind the economic policies supported by the AFL-CIO are simple:

• We believe that economic progress and social justice go together. Fairness and compassion are not in conflict with efficiency.

Fair income distribution must be a major concern of economic policy. In practical terms this means a level of wages and incomes and taxes for America's workers and consumers that provide a sound basis for a balanced, expanding U.S. economy with high-volume, cost-cutting mass production of the goods and services America's people need and want for a rising standard of living. Thus, unions and collective bargaining make an important contribution to America's social and economic progress.

Furthermore, basic social programs that help people who are unemployed, aged, weak, or helpless, are fundamental to economic progress as well as social goals. These programs maintain income and thus maintain consumer buying power which gives stability and resiliance to the American economy. They must be strengthened and improved not destroyed or weakened.

• We believe full employment is a moral, social, political and economic imperative.

Unemployment generates immeasurable social losses which include physical and mental illness, family disorganization, social alienation and crime. For every one million jobless workers America loses at least \$100 billion of goods and services.

The commitment to full employment set forth in the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Economic Growth Act of 1978 must be fulfilled.

• We believe the attack against inflation must focus on the true causes of inflation, on the specific sectors of energy, food, health care, and housing, and high interest rates.

Inflation in America today, is not caused by excessive government spending nor can it be halted by cutting basic social programs and loading hardship on the weak and defenseless and tax breaks and tax loopholes on the rich. The tight monetary-high interest rate policies are aggravating inflation rather than curing it.

• We believe the nation's economic growth and productivity must be raised by a comprehensive reindustrialization program including effective employment and training programs.

Business, labor and government should participate in an economic program of reindustrialization and development to strengthen America by helping to channel private and public investment to modernize basic and essential industries and public capital facilities, to revitalize lagging geographic areas, generate jobs, growth and price stability.

• We believe this nation's international trade and investment policies must give much more weight to U.S. interests.

Exports and imports account for 25 to 30 percent of the U.S. output of goods. Foreign investment in the U.S. is growing. U.S. multinational firms are exporting capital, technology, production and jobs, and foreign imports compete unfairly in the U.S. market, undermining this nation's industrial base, weakening the U.S. competitive position in world trade, and jeopardizing U.S. national security.

The U.S. must deal effectively with the adverse effects of international trade and finances on U.S. workers, on U.S. industries, and on U.S. national security.

The AFL-CIO sets forth the following national economic program, to fulfill these principles—as both a long-term objective and to provide the components for an interim, stand-by economic program:

I. Social Justice

Fair and reasonable income distribution must be a major concern of general economic policy and tax policy. Basic income support programs for the unemployed, the poor and the elderly must be maintained and improved. Further efforts by the Administration to destroy or weaken these programs through the budget process must be rejected.

Congress must block efforts to dismantle or weaken federal regulatory agencies and federal laws and regulations which were established to protect consumers and workers and the general public from unfair, monopolistic, and anti-social business practices.

The AFL-CIO continues to support a strong national defense not as a source of jobs but as a necessary precondition to the survival of democratic institutions—but our support does not mean a blank check for the Pentagon. Military strength depends on having appropriate weapons, ready manpower, logistical support and intelligent strategy.

Vast increases in defense spending will not in themselves necessarily strengthen the U.S. defense posture. The key issue is what these dollars buy and how well they meet U.S. security needs. By increasing defense spending at the expense of vital social programs, the Reagan Administration risks a loss of support and

creation of anti-defense constituencies among workers, the poor, minorities, and the elderly, which could jeopardize the nation.

To stimulate economic progress and economic equity, workers must have an increased share in the benefits of economic progress. A balanced economy requires a fair and productive tax structure and adequate growth of consumer markets which depend on adequate growth of consumer buying power. The needed level and diversity in consumer spending cannot be achieved unless increases in workers' real income are achieved.

II. Jobs and Training

Job and training opportunities must be made available for unemployed men and women who cannot find jobs in the private sector through direct, targeted and adequately funded public employment programs.

The unemployed should have the opportunity to work on public service and public investment projects that expand services and facilities needed for a healthy economy and they should get training in skills that are in short supply. These programs can be targeted to increase supply and economic efficiency in key areas, thereby moderating prices, while reducing unemployment.

There should be more targeted job training opportunities for adult workers including women and minorities and other groups with special needs, and special programs for youth. Training programs should provide new job skills and lead to job opportunities.

We support private sector training, including on-the-job training and upgrading and apprenticeship programs. At the same time we oppose wage subsidies to private employers—whether done directly through public grants or through the back door of tax cuts. Private sector training programs supported by federal funds must have federal safeguards and standards of performance, in order to avoid abuse, exploitation, and undercutting of wage standards and worker protections.

III. Anti-Inflation Policies

The fight against inflation must attack directly the problem areas of high interest rates, energy, housing, food and health care. Budget cuts frequently aggravate inflationary pressures in these sectors.

To lower high interest rates—Lower borrowing costs are necessary to encourage expansion of the housing industry, investment in productive plant and equipment, and state and local public investment.

Funds and credit should be selectively controlled and targeted

for productive industrial development and needed housing expansion. Existing credit control authority should be used and new tools developed to channel available credit to productive use.

To reduce inflation in energy—Reducing inflation in energy requires maintaining controls on natural gas, continuing authority to control oil prices and rationing in time of need. Expansion, development and use of alternative sources of energy is essential as are reformed utility rate structures and expanded conservation programs.

A U.S. oil import agency should be empowered to purchase and distribute oil imports, thus assuring the nation an adequate supply of oil at a fair price.

To reduce inflation in housing—Curbing inflation in housing requires funding government programs that help increase the supply of low- and middle-income housing, wider use of below-market interest rate mortgages for low- and middle-income buyers, and deterrents to the conversion of rental housing structures to condominiums in tight housing markets.

Home mortgage financing by union pension funds invested in long-term fixed-payment mortgages guaranteed by the government should be encouraged.

To reduce inflation in food—Restrictions should be placed on export of commodities in short supply. A National Grain Board similar to the Canadian Wheat Board should be established to handle foreign sales of U.S. grain. Price support programs should be limited to small- and moderate-sized farms.

To reduce inflation in health care—Health Maintenance Organizations should be expanded and there should be encouragement of the use of cost-reducing practices, such as second opinions before elective surgery and support for healthy planning to eliminate duplication of costly equipment and services. The entire health care system should be reformed through national health insurance.

IV. Rebuilding the U.S. Economy

To modernize and revitalize the American economy, business, labor and government should participate in a tripartite Reindustrialization Board. Under this board, a Reconstruction Finance Corporation would invest public and private funds in necessary reindustrialization projects.

The RFC should have authority to use loans, loan guarantees, targeted tax incentives and other tools to encourage new industries that have difficulty obtaining necessary financing, and assist older industries with special capital needs for modernization, expansion and restoration of their competitive position. The

RFC should also direct its resources to specific geographic areas of the country that are most in need.

The urban infrastructure of sewers, water systems, streets and bridges needs to be renewed and the nation's transportation network must be upgraded for people and goods to move more efficiently. Railroad, highways, port facilities and airports are in desperate need of rehabilitation. Urban mass transit systems need support and modernization.

There should be a thorough monitoring, review and analysis of the existing and newly enacted business tax "incentives" in the light of reindustrialization goals. The huge and costly array of provisions that have been enacted as "incentives" to investment must conform with reindustrialization goals and tax justice.

V. Economic Concentration

Big corporations and big financial institutions are rapidly increasing their influence and power over the welfare of workers, the interests of taxpayers and citizens, and America's basic economic, political, and social goals. Corporate power must serve the public interest and corporate misconduct must be brought under control. A wide range of reform is necessary, including:

Effective enforcement of anti-trust laws, federal chartering of major corporations; prohibiting huge conglomerate mergers; prohibiting interlocking directors; setting triple damage compensation for all victims of corporate price-fixing including secondary customers; legislating stronger penalties for consumer fraud and price-fixing by corporate officials; protecting privacy rights against lie detectors and other invasions of privacy; checking media concentration; and establishing more control on big oil company investments in competing energy sources, and in other non-oil investments.

VI. International Trade

International trade and investment policies must emphasize U.S. welfare and national security, including specifically the welfare of American workers, local communities, and key industries.

A wide range of specific actions is needed to deal with this nation's international trade and investment concerns, including the erosion of the nation's industrial base and maintaining and improving trade adjustment assistance to assure that workers injured by imports get prompt aid and adjustment help.

The AFL-CIO will continue to work for the programs and policies that will provide jobs for all Americans who want to work, win the fight against inflation, assure a rising standard

of living for all Americans, and bring about a more equitable sharing of the nation's income and wealth.

VII. Anti-Recession Program

Like a snowball rolling downhill, the economic recession is gaining momentum. Unemployment has increased by one million in the past three months and each day thousands more are being laid off.

But the Reagan Administration response to rising unemployment is to resurrect Herbert Hoover's economic policies of 50 years ago with additional budget cuts that will further weaken demand, reduce output, and destroy more jobs.

The resulting weakened economy would be even more costly and damaging to the nation in terms of lost production, lost jobs, lost skills, and lost income to producers and workers.

The tragedy of unemployment and the steadily worsening economic situation must be reversed.

The AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress to pass the following anti-recession, job-creating programs:

A. Programs already on the books must be given sufficient funding to provide jobs rapidly and help lift the economy, specifically:

- Revive the emergency local public works program;
- Provide new low- and middle-income housing units;
- Restore public service jobs for workers not able to find jobs;
- Restore nationwide extended unemployment compensation benefits to protect the long-term unemployed.
 - B. Stimulate the economy with new legislation, specifically:
- Establish a Reconstruction Finance Corporation to revitalize the economy with loans, loan guarantees, interest rate subsidies and targeted tax benefits for retooling and growth of basic industries with special consideration for high unemployment areas;
- Place temporary restrictions on harmful imports to prevent added penetration of U.S. markets by foreign producers and further weakening of the nation's industrial base.
- C. Use credit control authority to offset tight money policy and excessive interest rates and to channel funds into productive uses, including housing, and to stop unproductive credit flows that aggravate the economic situation with speculative excesses and merger activities.

- D. Raise revenue for these programs and restore equity by:
- Limiting the individual income tax cuts for 1982 to \$700 per taxpayer, roughly the amount scheduled for those with incomes of \$40,000;
- Cutting the 10 percent investment tax credit back to its original 7 percent level to preclude subsidizing the same firms and investments as does the huge newly enacted depreciation system;
- Withdrawing oil windfall profits tax give-aways to wealthy oil royalty owners in the 1981 Reagan Tax Act.

International Trade and Investment

In order to achieve fair trade, international trade and investment policies must give greater emphasis to U.S. interests through its own national actions and through cooperation with other nations.

The United States must remain a major maritime, agricultural and manufacturing nation. The U.S. needs a foreign trade policy that will insure—not undercut—that goal.

The new factors in international trade require attention, while old problems also need solutions:

To assure a viable industrial base and national security, immediate import relief should be accorded some key industries faced with serious erosion, such as the auto and steel industries. Existing laws should be improved to assure speedy relief to industries when the threat of injury from imports is evident. These laws also should be amended to assure that the producers of major and essential components can receive appropriate relief from injury caused by imports.

Domestic content laws should be enacted to assure continued production of such products as autos. A U.S. production requirement is needed to preserve employment and skills and shore up the nation's sagging industrial base. Local content requirements in autos should be tied to sales volume and should be phased in beginning with the 1983 model year.

The problem of steel imports requires continued attention and negotiations to assure the success of the trigger price mechanism for basic steel, the "surge" mechanism for specialty steel and effective monitoring of fabricated steel. With imports of steel nearing 25 percent of the U.S. market stronger measures, including quotas, may be necessary. Tripartite efforts, involving industry, labor and government, can assure that technological changes and capital improvements make this industry once again a vital

base of America's economic future. Plant modernization must be undertaken immediately in the current locations.

The Multifibre Arrangement for textiles and apparel should be renegotiated to provide for an orderly regulation of imports of textile/apparel market growth between imports and domestic production. A global approach toward textile and apparel imports and modifications of the MFA provisions to prevent major disruption and economic hardship in the U.S. textile/apparel industry are necessary.

Also, tens of thousands of workers in the electronic, chemical, pottery, glass, rubber, toy, shoe and other American industries, are unemployed because their jobs have been shipped overseas.

The manufacturing clause of the U.S. Copyright law must be extended in order to protect widespread losses of jobs throughout the U.S. printing industry.

There should be greater use of the U.S. merchant marine fleet by the U.S. Navy for auxiliary functions. Reviving the U.S. merchant marine also requires the negotiation of bilateral shipping agreements, particularly with respect to grain and coal shipments. The U.S. government also should ratify the UN Committee on Trade and Development code for liner conferences, which would help restore more equity of shipment in U.S. bottoms for cargo generated by U.S. trade. There should be a revision in the tax incentives and budgeting regulatory practices to encourage the building of new vessels in the U.S. rather than in foreign shipyards.

The slashing of Trade Adjustment Assistance, that has resulted from the budget cuts, must be reversed. Those workers who lose their jobs because of imports should receive the 70 percent of lost pay for up to one year, and the training and relocation aid that they were promised in the Trade Acts of 1974 and 1979.

Trade issues in "services" should be approached on a case-bycase basis and in bilateral negotiations. A clear and appropriate definition of services and adequate statistics need to be developed before multilateral trade negotiations are undertaken. The U.S. government should help promote the rights of American services industries abroad where unfair barriers stand in the way of increased U.S. employment. Service industries in the U.S. should be analyzed in relation to employment effects before there are any overall negotiations. U.S. service workers and firms should have protection against unfair trade practices.

The Generalized System of Preferences should be repealed. At a bare minimum, Congress and the Administration should remove import-sensitive products from the list, guarantee that

only the neediest countries receive the benefits, and exclude communist economies.

Foreign trade zones in the U.S. should be limited and strictly monitored so that they do not become a means of circumventing U.S. trade laws or undercutting U.S. industries' growth.

Items 807 and 806.30 of the tariff schedules reduce tariffs on products containing parts produced in the U.S. These provisions export American jobs and should be repealed.

The U.S. should establish an oil import agency to purchase and distribute oil imports, thus assuring the nation an adequate supply of oil at a fair price.

Grains and grain agreements should assure export of food products made from grain as well as the grain itself. The U.S. government should be the negotiator, through an established "Wheat Board" similar to the Canadian model.

Export promotion should be a government priority, carefully targeted to accomplish specific goals. It should not include capital, technology and price-sensitive commodities. Export promotion must not take priority over domestic budget needs, nor be used as an excuse for undermining U.S. anti-trust laws or banking laws. The U.S. should limit the transfer of new technology in order to assure both its national defense and its technological advances.

Foreign grant, insurance and loan programs should be supervised in terms of U.S. interests at home as well as abroad. This means that Ex-Im Bank loans, guarantees and insurance activities should be carefully limited both in amount and in the authority to expand the action.

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a government agency that insures private investment abroad, should be terminated as soon as possible. OPIC has been insuring huge multinational banks and firms abroad and, thus, encouraging the export of American jobs.

Trade with Communist countries should be regulated more effectively through improved administration of Title IV of the Trade Act and by additional legislation that recognizes the economic and political fact of life that private commercial interests cannot negotiate as effectively with closed and managed economies as can governmental negotiators.

Imports should be carefully monitored in all types of industries because of new barter trade arrangements. Emergency action to curb sudden inrushes of imports is necessary.

Fair labor standards criteria must be applied to the acceptance of imports into U.S. markets to assure fair competition.

Foreign producers should be required to meet minimum labor standards or face import quotas and other trade restrictions.

To regulate the immense flows of international investment capital, the U.S. Congress should establish a reporting mechanism that would require all potential foreign investors, or those who would take over an American firm or bank to provide the government with at least 60 days advance notice. The government should be authorized to withhold authorization of such investment or take-over in the national interest. Particular scrutiny should be given to take-overs or investments in energy sources, minerals, and other natural resources, farm land, and banks.

More attention needs to be focused on the effects of tight monetary policy and high interest rates on trade and investment. The deleterious effects of major short term swings need to be blunted.

Tax loopholes and incentives for multinational companies to move abroad should be ended; the tax deferral halted; the foreign tax credit repealed, and the Domestic International Sales Corporation tax gimmick should be repealed.

The multilateral trade codes adopted in 1979 require constant monitoring and the enforcement of U.S. rights. Only the negotiated provisions should be enforced, particularly in the area of government procurement, where many U.S. agencies, state and local governments were specifically exempted from the requirements of the codes. National security clauses in the code should be used to assure U.S. production and jobs in key industries. No new codes should be completed until current codes are fully monitored and evaluated and no further tariff cuts should be undertaken. The President should report accurately and fully the effects of the code—at home as well as abroad.

New proposals for trade arrangements with America's nearest neighbors, or with any other individual foreign country, should be based on a realistic assessment of the past and future impact of trade and investment not only in the host country but on specific parts of the U.S. economy and on U.S. workers. Differences as well as the similarities of the trade and investment regulations of the respective countries need to be recognized. The United States should continue to try to solve specific bilateral problems, but should not enter into so-called "free trade" areas that could cause massive distortions in import-export balances. We recognize the need to help friends achieve industrial development particularly the poorest of the developing countries. This requires that the emphasis should be on internal development, not on exports to the U.S. market at the expense of U.S. workers. The Caribbean Basin is an excellent example of an area where aid must be realistic to promote living standards and not at the expense of U.S. jobs or living standards.

The U.S. needs a "fair" trade policy that enables this country to have a diversified industrial base with skills and services of an advanced economy, plus a policy that will create full employment and raise the standards of living at home as well as in other countries of the world—all of which will help the U.S. meet the needs of a changing world in the 1980s.

Plant Closings

Plant closings and mass layoffs, always a threat, are taking an increasing toll on workers and their communities as unemployment worsens and imports continue to eat at America's industrial base. Our social landscape is littered with the remains of once healthy factories, stores and warehouses. The waste of human skills and dignity is joined by an undermining of community vitality as tax bases are destroyed and social services are curtailed. Communities, often small towns, are affected from one end of the country to the other, in every industry—in steel, rubber, glass, aluminum, electronics and electrical equipment, retail and wholesale trade, hospitals and other services and ultimately in state and local government.

Even in good times the problem is not a small one. A recent authoritative study estimates that 15 million workers lost their jobs through plant closings from 1969 to 1976 alone. A larger number will be victimized by plant closings in the 1980s unless new policies and programs are enacted now.

In the broadest sense the surge of plant closings results from the progressive "deindustrialization" of the U.S. economy. The AFL-CIO's reindustrialization program provides answers to strengthen our industrial base and, therefore, to reduce the problem of plant closings.

But plant closings are also a specific problem resulting from specific causes that need to be addressed by changes in our laws. Federal tax writeoffs are freely available to companies that close plants in an established location to open new plants overseas or in another part of this country—typically where climates are sunnier and unions are weaker. Why should the federal government and taxpayers subsidize plant closings, rewarding companies for their disruption of American jobs and communities?

Likewise tax laws that promote conglomerate mergers in situations that can lead to the closing down of profitable operations must be eliminated. A company spending millions or hundreds of millions of dollars to buy up plants that it intends to run down—milking them as "cash flow cows" while failing to reinvest or engage in basic maintenance—should not be allowed

to acquire artificial tax losses through conglomerate mergers and then write off their artificial losses when there is nothing left to milk out.

Fair international trade laws and their full enforcement are also required if the problem of plant closings is to be brought under control. Whether through reindustrialization, tax reform, or trade policy, we cannot afford to design programs to cushion the blows of plant closings while we perpetuate policies that weaken our industrial base and cause many plant closings in the first place.

Ironically the United States—with the largest number of workers affected by plant closings—has the least advanced provisions of any advanced industrial democracy for softening their blows. As observed by members of IUD-affiliated unions first hand, most countries in Western Europe do a much better job than we do in protecting their workers and communities from the dangers of plant closings:

- They require advance notice of all plant closings and mass layoffs.
- They provide unemployment income support at up to 90 percent of previous wages for up to three years—far more and for far longer than under American unemployment compensation or most adjustment programs.
- They make special efforts to attract new industry to areas impacted by major closings, bringing jobs to the workers, rather than forcing workers and their families out of their communities.
- They provide enriched training programs for dislocated workers, at high income support levels, so that workers may come through such an experience with enhanced skills and employment opportunities, rather than with skills left obsolete and meaningless by a single management decision.
- Through various tax and other schemes they make the management closing the plant responsible for meeting at least part of the costs imposed on communities by plant closings.

And, of course, all these greater worker and community protections are provided in countries which already have well developed social programs, like national health insurance, and economies with high degrees of unionization which are managed much closer to full employment than what we experience here in the United States.

The disparity between the problem of plant closings and the laws that encourage plant closings, and between the needs of dislocated American workers and the programs for cushioning the blows of plant closings and mass layoffs must be ended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates continue to press for passage of legislation to protect workers against the threat of plant closings and runaway shops. New legislation should be enacted to remove tax incentives that foster plant closings and specifically provide for protections including: mandatory advance notice of plant closings; higher levels of income support, and for longer periods, for dislocated workers; actions to attract new industries to areas that have lost employment due to plant closings and major layoffs: meaningful training for dislocated workers; continuation of health insurance; rights of union successorship when an operation is closed and then re-opened under "new" management; a requirement that corporations share the financial burden of helping a community and its workers adjust after a plant is closed for relocation elsewhere in the United States or abroad and provide help for troubled businesses.

City and State Needs

The Administration's economic policies threaten to reverse the progress made in recent years towards meeting the needs of impoverished and declining areas and local communities. Urban problems which have been festering for years will be compounded by a lack of funds to halt the deterioration of streets and highways, bridges, buses and subways, ports, parks, railways and sewers. Declines in jobs and opportunity because of national and international economic conditions and shifts and changes that are taking place as a result of energy costs, demographic and other factors will add to the problems particularly of central cities and industrial regions.

In order to meet state and local needs and bolster the cities, the AFL-CIO urges the following actions:

- Economic development and community development programs—those of the Economic Development Administration, Community Development Block Grants, and Urban Development Action Grants—should be continued and funded to maintain at least the levels of services that existed prior to 1981. These programs should be continued as separate and independently operating activities and not be allowed to disappear or lose their national interest purpose through further block grant consolidations.
- Legislation should be enacted to deal effectively with economic dislocations and human hardship of plant closing and relocation of facilities.
- Mass transit capital and operating funds should be restored so that services can be improved, fares kept reasonable, ridership increased and energy conserved.

• Tax justice is even more essential as states and localities are forced to rely more on their own revenue-raising abilities to compensate for the Administration's program reductions, tax cuts and high interest rate policies.

The states, with their broader tax base must increase their commitment to urban areas. The temptation to meet revenue needs through additional taxes on the goods, services and homes of working people must be resisted and destructive competition for industry through preferential tax giveaways must be rejected. Efforts must be made to blunt the revenue losses that will result from compliance with the 1981 federal tax law—particularly the business tax cuts.

The basic tax structures of the state and localities must be made more equitable and more productive. This requires an increased reliance upon progressive taxes on individual and corporate income, correcting some of the regressive features of sales taxes and specific, selective reforms in the structure and administration of property taxes. Property tax relief must be provided in an equitable fashion, not through across-the-board devices which reward the wealthy and compound local public investment problems.

Housing

In order to increase housing production to a level required to meet national needs, place adequate housing within the economic reach of all families, combat inflation in housing and decrease unemployment, the AFL-CIO recommends the following actions:

- 1. Increased support for expanding the supply of assisted low- and middle-income housing to alleviate the housing shortage that is driving up prices and rents.
- 2. Reduce mortgage interest rates by expanding the use of so-called "tandem plans" that provide below-market interest rate mortgages for low- and middle-income buyers and rental developers.
- 3. Authority for credit controls should be implemented by the President and instituted by the Federal Reserve Board to assure adequate supply of mortgage money at reasonable interest rates for housing consumers.
- 4. Encourage home mortgage financing by union pension funds invested in long-term, fixed-payment mortgages guaranteed by the government.
- 5. Discourage the conversion of rental housing structures to condominiums in tight housing markets.

6. Restrict the export of logs which is causing shortage-induced domestic price increases for lumber.

Tax Justice

The Reagan tax cut has rigged the tax structure against working people and overloaded it with tax avoidance opportunities for corporations and the wealthy.

Unless this course is reversed the economic and social problems that are the inevitable result of shoe-string public budgets financed by unfair taxes will fester and grow. Hundreds of billions of dollars that should be creating jobs, revitalizing and rebuilding the nation's cities, industries and distressed areas, meeting the needs of the poor, the old and the moderate- and middle-income Americans will be siphoned off by the rich and the corporations.

Tax justice now requires a massive overhaul of the tax structure. The adverse consequences of the Reagan program must be averted and the damage done over the past decade must be repaired. Efforts already underway to shift more of the burden on working people through tax cuts masquerading as devices to meet urban problems (Urban Enterprise Zones), improve educational opportunities (Tuition Tax Credits), and the like must be rejected and new taxes, such as value-added tax or other inequitable consumption taxes, must be fought.

The Reagan tax cut represents an unprecedented and dangerous gamble with the nation's future. Between now and 1986 some \$750 billion in revenues will be lost and approximately half of that amount will go to businesses and the wealthiest 5 to 10 percent of the population.

By 1986, the effective tax rate on corporate income will be cut in half, the corporate income tax will account for only 14 percent of federal income tax receipts compared to 21 percent currently and 27 percent a decade ago. In terms of the total budget the corporate share will plunge to only 8 percent compared to 12 percent now and 17 percent a decade ago.

The Reagan tax cut was merchandized as a tool to fight inflation, reduce unemployment and promote productive investment. We believe it will do just the opposite. Top priority must be given to assure this massive and inequitable shift of the nation's resources does not do irreparable damage.

We, therefore, call upon the Congress to carefully monitor the course of the economy and the effects of the tax program and develop an alternative program which could be put into effect quickly.

Particular attention should be focused on the income tax cuts scheduled to take place in future years and the business tax cuts effect on distorting investment, promoting mergers, takeovers, plant migration, overseas investments and speculative ventures that add to the nation's economic problems and dissipate the funds needed to deal with them.

The elements of such a program should include:

- A substantial restructuring of the individual income tax cuts scheduled for 1983 and 1984 and the indexation provisions in a fashion which curbs revenue losses and limits relief to the moderate- and middle-income taxpayers who were so dramatically short-changed by the 1981 Act.
- Repeal of the 10 percent Investment Tax Credit and enactment of a business depreciation system which permits an accurate accounting of business costs and income for tax purposes.
- Enactment of a reindustrialization program which would be empowered—through a tripartite business, labor and government board—to use business tax incentives, grants, loans and other aids in a fashion which carefully and precisely targets available funds to revitalize the nation's distressed areas and industrial base.

Tax justice, however, requires much more than redressing the inequities of the Reagan program. The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support for a far-reaching program of loophole closing and basic reform that will put an end to the provisions which rig the tax structure against working people and assures a public sector adequately equipped to deal with the economic, social and defense needs of the nation.

The AFL-CIO, therefore, will continue to press for the full range of measures which are necessary to:

- End the preferential double-standard which taxes workers' wages and salaries at far higher rates than "unearned income" on the savings, investments and estates of the wealthy.
- Reinstate the corporate income tax as a source of revenue and equity and eliminate the so-called "incentives" that subsidize mergers, takeovers, plant shut-downs, overseas investments and other activities that conflict with the national interest.
- Provide a basic structure of credits, exemptions, deductions and graduated rates which fully reflect the principle of ability-to-pay.

Monetary Policy

The high interest, tight monetary policy of the Federal Reserve Board and the Reagan Administration have pushed the

economy toward a recession and are devastating the housing and auto industries rather than curtailing inflation. These policies aggravate inflation as high interest rates become built into the prices of products and goods and places housing beyond the reach of most Americans.

The Federal Reserve Board should channel funds into productive, economic development and into the housing market as well as do everything possible to lower interest rates.

The Federal Reserve should, along with the President, reinstitute an expanded credit control program so that available funds are channeled to those sectors where it will have a productive use rather than allowing funds to be siphoned off for speculation, international profiteering, corporate mergers, and commodity gambling.

The Federal Reserve should abandon its emphasis on so-called aggregate targets as an unrealistic approach. Instead, it should pay more attention to the state of the economy and to the effects of high interest rates on depressing the overall economy, destroying certain sectors of the economy, and restricting essential state and local public investment.

The Congress should expand the membership of the Federal Reserve Board to include representation of all sectors of the economy including labor and agriculture.

The Congress should extend the Credit Control Act of 1969 which expires in July 1982.

The Congress should retract the federal preemption of state interest rate usury laws so that states can, if they so desire, limit excessive interest charges, and the Congress should not enact the proposed federal preemption of state consumer credit usury ceilings.

Fair Labor Standards

The Fair Labor Standards Act should be amended to insure that the erosion in the purchasing power of the minimum wage be halted.

The real value of the minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour is worth substantially less than the \$1.40 minimum wage was worth in February 1967.

We recognize that the Congress in enacting the FLSA Amendments of 1974 and 1977 provided for minimum wage increases for several years into the future. However, the increases which were mandated provided little insurance against the marked erosion of the wage floor by double-digit inflation which the Congress could not and did not foresee.

An indexed minimum wage which would provide for regular predictable increases in the wage floor would help employers by making it possible for them to do long-range planning instead of being confronted with sporadic and unpredictable increases in the minimum wage. It would have the additional benefit of relieving the Congress of the burden of providing for a periodic review of the minimum wage to insure that it was pegged at a realistic level. It would not limit the Congress in its consideration of other FLSA issues such as coverage and exemptions and the unacceptable level of noncompliance which exists today.

Industrial Homework

The decision of the Secretary of Labor to lift the 40-year-old ban on industrial homework in the knitted outerwear industry is a critical part of the Reagan Administration's efforts to destroy all forms of protection to the working people of America. Industrial homework in the knitted outerwear industry and six other industries was banned 40 years ago by the Labor Department's Wage and Hour Division because it found it impossible to enforce federal wage and hour standards in the home. Moreover, more than 30 years ago the Congress of the United States ratified these bans and made them part of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The Secretary's action, which may now also be extended to the other industries in which industrial homework is banned, comes at a time when the Secretary is also drastically decreasing the enforcement staff. This can only serve to intensify the difficulty of enforcing wage and hour standards for all workers and to increase violations of these standards.

Lifting the ban on industrial homework in the knitted outer-wear industry is a step to reestablish the dreaded sweatshop with official government protection. It disregards the experience of decades both before and after the ban was ordered in the early 1940's and amounts to an endorsement of the return of the sweatshop to the kitchens of city tenements and country homes all over the country.

Furthermore, many workers currently engaged in industrial homework are undocumented aliens. They work under conditions in which no records are kept and live under constant anxiety of government authority of any kind. These workers fear deportation if they make their status known by reporting violations of the minimum wage laws to the Department of Labor. The ability of unscrupulous employers to take advantage of these circumstances results not only in violations of FLSA, but also leads to diversion of work from factories to homeworkers who are forced to work without protection of any kind.

The decision of the Secretary of Labor was based on a claim for exemption on behalf of a limited group of knitters in rural Vermont. It was made without any support in the record and without the research and analysis so serious an action merits. The ban in the knitted outerwear industry was lifted despite strong opposition not only from the labor movement, but also from employers and from civic organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO strongly condemns the Secretary of Labor's action. Aside from the immorality of his decision to lift the 40-year-old ban on industrial homework in the knitted outerwear industry, it violates a law made by the Congress and which only the Congress can change. We, therefore, support the legal steps taken by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to enjoin the Secretary of Labor from acting in defiance of a law passed by the Congress. We also urge the Department of Labor to increase its enforcement staff in order to strengthen the enforcement of the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Enforcement of Labor Laws

WHEREAS, The national legislation that protects American workers, that safeguards their health, their safety, even the amount of money they take home in their paychecks, is under attack in Washington by a hostile Administration, a confused Congress, and a powerful anti-union lobbying machine. Legislation is being prepared or considered which would repeal the gains working people have made through half a century of struggle, and the American labor movement must be prepared to use all its political might to defeat these efforts, and

WHEREAS, There is yet another way in which the country's labor laws are being overturned. It is a far more subtle and insidious method known as repeal by administrative fiat. If the federal departments in charge of overseeing the statutes are not properly funded, they cannot carry out their responsibilities. If the offices in the field are not properly staffed, they cannot do

their jobs. Inspections would not be made. Complaints would go unheard. Exploitation would grow and sweatshops would proliferate. Although laws would remain on the books, they would become merely a fiction, and

WHEREAS, This Administration has cut back on the personnel whose job it is to enforce the labor laws. And it threatens to cut back still more. Yet no country can remain civilized that does not maintain just and strong statutes against exploitation and unsafe working conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: This Convention calls upon the Administration to pursue a policy of strict enforcement of our nation's labor laws, providing whatever funds are necessary for the effective protection of American workers.

Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Acts

The labor movement has been and will continue to be a strong advocate of fair labor standards. It views recent attacks on the Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Acts as a device to destroy the basic principle underpinning all prevailing wage legislation, namely, that businesses should not be permitted to successfully compete for government contracts by exploiting workers and endangering health and safety.

The AFL-CIO pledges its strong support for these statutes. We promise to vigorously oppose all attempts to destroy these statutes by labeling them "wage-fixing" procedures.

We reject the proposal to arbitrarily change the method of computing the prevailing wage under the Davis-Bacon Act on the basis of unsubstantiated claims that the present method is inflationary.

We also reject the technique of redefining terms to reduce coverage under these Acts. For example, through the simple procedure of defining "service" contracts from contracts "substantially for services" to "principally for services," coverage under the Service Contract Act would be cut in half.

We are not impressed with a reduction in the reporting requirements under the Davis-Bacon Act which has been proposed under the guise of eliminating paperwork when that reduction will make it impossible to determine violation of the statute.

The AFL-CIO will urge the Congress to closely monitor proposed revisions in existing regulations to insure that these revisions are not a back-door approach to changing the true intent of laws enacted by the Congress.

The Davis-Bacon Act and the Service Contract Act were designed to insure that the U.S. government in its contracting activity would not generate cutthroat competition that forces fair-minded employers to become exploitive and which results in substandard wages for employees.

Energy

The nation's achievements in developing effective energy conservation and supply programs have been set back by the Reagan Administration's elimination of some energy programs and sharp cuts in funding for nearly all other programs.

There is still a critical need for energy independence. Conservation programs have greatly helped to increase the efficiency of energy use and reduced oil imports over the last three years, but the nation and the free world are still dangerously dependent on imports, and the probability of import disruptions remains high. The government must maintain standby authority to deal with major oil shortfalls.

The nation must reaffirm its commitment to a strong energy policy to continue to reduce reliance on imported oil and move toward energy independence. The government should strengthen its energy posture by becoming the sole importer of oil. A government purchasing agency would encourage oil exporters to compete for the American market, purchase oil and allocate it to oil companies. The agency would prevent the scramble for oil during import disruptions and make sure oil reached consumers rather than being stored while prices soar.

Conservation

Conservation is an essential part of an energy policy designed to bring about U.S. energy independence.

Conservation programs, badly damaged by Administration budget cuts, should be strengthened especially the weatherization of schools, hospitals, federal government buildings and the homes of low-income citizens. Programs for this purpose are already in place but were sharply cut back by the Administration.

Additional conservation measures that should be taken are:

- 1. The commitment for broader support of mass transit systems and other means of general travel including railroads and intercity buses.
- 2. The establishment of temperature and lighting standards that could be reasonably enforced in industrial, commercial and

residential buildings would lead to economies in heating, lighting and cooling.

- 3. Gas and electric rate structures should be revamped to eliminate declining block rates and allow for peak-load pricing.
- 4. The programs to develop energy efficiency standards for major appliances and new buildings which were eliminated by the Administration should be re-established and standards should be developed for existing buildings.
- 5. Automobile fleet mileage standards should be maintained and strengthened.
- 6. The cogeneration of energy, largely through the use of steam produced in the generation of other forms of energy, should be encouraged.
- 7. The program to require conversion of gas-fired boilers to convert to coal or other fuel, other than oil, which was eliminated by the Administration, should be re-established and oil-fired boilers should also be required to convert.
- 8. The solar energy conservation bank which is to provide low-interest loans for conservation and solar equipment to low- and moderate-income citizens should be expanded.

These are the kinds of conservation measures that are essential to reduce the nation's consumption of energy. As we view conservation, it does not mean a lower quality of life or a slackening of economic growth. Growth in the economy and a high standard of living are endangered if there is not sufficient energy at reasonable prices to turn the wheels of industry. Conservation can help prevent a shortage of energy.

Alternate Energy Sources

Conservation is an essential part of the nation's energy policy but conservation alone cannot end U.S. reliance on imported oil.

All potential energy sources should be developed. Goals should be established for alternate forms of energy to replace specific amounts of oil and natural gas. At the same time, however, no energy source should be developed without companion research into methods of reducing adverse environmental effects.

Alternate energy sources must be developed from each of the three primary categories: (1) essential renewable sources—solar, wind, gasohol, tidal and geothermal energy—for which varying degrees of technology exist and which appear to have minimal environmental effects; (2) nonrenewable sources—coal and nuclear—for which technology exists but which also pose environmental problems; and (3) new areas—such as waste matter, oil shale, tar sands, and other synthetic fuels and solar power

installations—which require expensive new technology and may have potential environmental problems.

We urge that a commitment be made toward advancing solar, gasohol and geothermal technology. Greater development of solar energy and gasohol, for example, would enable many Americans to substitute these sources for oil or natural gas. Solar energy, in particular, has a tremendous potential for making a significant contribution to meeting this nation's energy needs.

The nation cannot afford to ignore coal and nuclear energy, despite environmental dangers. Both sources will play an important role in reducing U.S. dependence on imported oil. Greater use of scrubbers and technology to extract more energy from coal effluent, including cogeneration, would offset air pollution through greater production of energy.

The nation must not relax basic health and safety regulations governing nuclear power, and immediate, careful attention must be devoted to solving the problem of nuclear waste disposal. We believe that development of nuclear power must be accompanied by expanded research into technology to further reduce safety hazards, so that nuclear power will enjoy the public support it must have to become a significant energy source. We advocate development of technology which turns nuclear waste into reusable fuel.

Government research and development programs are being conducted for virtually every promising energy source, but all energy supply programs outside the nuclear area have been sharply curtailed by the Reagan Administration. The government Synthetic Fuels Corporation, enacted by Congress in 1980, was designed to spur the development of synfuels. Although a year has passed since the legislation was passed to set up the corporation, it still has not begun to play an active role in spurring synfuels development.

Funds must be restored to every supply and conservation program and the Synthetic Fuels Corporation must begin to play an active role if the U.S. is to move toward energy independence.

The natural gas pipeline which will transport Alaskan natural gas to the lower 48 states should be expedited, but the protection provided to consumers against potential monopoly power of oil producers over gas prices should not be weakened.

Decontrol of Natural Gas Prices

Natural gas prices should be based on the cost of production plus a reasonable profit, which was the basis of natural gas prices until 1978 when Congress adopted legislation that allows natural gas prices to rise faster than the rate of inflation, with most natural gas to be completely deregulated in 1985. The proposal to immediately deregulate natural gas would cause prices to rise even faster compressing years of staged increases allowed by the 1978 legislation into one—potentially disastrous—shock to the economy.

Natural gas has been regulated since the 1930s because of the need to protect consumer from the monopoly pricing power of natural gas pipelines and producers.

Rapid natural gas price increases have already made it difficult for low- and moderate-income families to adequately heat their homes and meet other family expenses.

Deregulation of natural gas prices cannot be justified on economic grounds. Current prices are more than adequate to stimulate exploration for new gas.

Conservation policy should not be based on making energy so expensive that low- and moderate-income families cannot adequately heat their homes. The nation can reach its conservation goals by expanding conservation efforts without the hardship of sudden and extreme energy price hikes.

The AFL-CIO pledges to resist any and all efforts to remove controls on the price of natural gas. We will seek to reinstitute cost-based pricing of this important energy source.

Divestiture

The giant oil companies bloated with profits from decontrolled oil and high prices for other energy sources have accelerated their acquisition of other energy companies and nonenergy concerns.

The giant energy companies control of petroleum from well-head to marketing exercises an unhealthy influence over the nation's well-being.

The oil companies have abused their market power, and the nation cannot afford to be at the mercy of either the OPEC countries or the American oil companies.

We urged the Congress to break up the oil monopolies so they will no longer produce as well as refine and market petroleum. We continue to support legislation to prevent oil companies from diverting their resources to acquisitions of or merger with other industries. If the oil companies fail to adequately serve the public interest, consideration should be given to nationalization of the industry.

Foreign-Trade Zones

WHEREAS, The number of foreign-trade zones has increased dramatically in recent years, and

WHEREAS, One of the original purposes of the Foreign-Trade Zone Act of 1934 was to expand U.S. re-export and trans-shipment trade and, therefore, hopefully to increase employment, and

WHEREAS, Foreign-trade zones today can result in a loss of American jobs, especially where import sensitive components and final articles are imported into foreign-trade zones without having to pay U.S. Customs duties for assembly in the zone and "importation" into the United States at lower rates of duty as a final product, and

WHEREAS, The recent request for a foreign-trade subzone at the Sanyo Manufacturing Corporation's television and microwave oven facility in Forrest City, Arkansas, illustrates the type of zone that will result in a job loss to the United States because it will permit avoidance of the 15 percent duty on color picture tubes and enable Sanyo Manufacturing Corporation's parent company to circumvent the outstanding dumping finding on television receivers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO hereby reiterates its opposition to creation of foreign-trade zones, because they result in job losses to the United States and have been used to undercut U.S. trade and tax laws.

Outer Continental Shelf Development

WHEREAS, In 1978 the Congress of the United States amended the Outer Continental Shelf Act, 43USC1356, and

WHEREAS, Section 30 of the Amended OCS Act provided that the work performed on U.S. government property would not be performed by foreign workers under substandard conditions, and

WHEREAS, There are certain limited exceptions to the general requirements, and

WHEREAS, The general requirements of Section 30 are not being implemented by the United States and are considered virtually a dead issue by the U.S. Coast Guard, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Secretary of the Interior, who has the responsibility to enforce the statute, and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States is obligated under the act to survey foreign-manning requirements covering the Outer Continental Shelves of other nations and if such nations restrict the employment of U.S. citizens, then such other nations cannot avail themselves of the limited exceptions of the United States manning requirements, and

WHEREAS, Numerous inquiries have been made to the appropriate United States' officials, agencies and departments, and

WHEREAS, No response has been received from these officials, agencies or departments, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of American jobs are being lost to foreign workers when Section 30 is not enforced, and

WHEREAS, The loss of these job opportunities further exacerbates an already deplorable rate of unemployment among American tradesmen, and

WHEREAS, We must use all legal means at hand to prevent the use of foreign workers, rigs, ships and equipment in developing the Outer Continental Shelf oil deposits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO bring all reasonable force upon the White House, the Congress and the various directly involved federal agencies to enforce Section 30 of the Outer Continental Shelf Act of 1978 in order to preserve this crucially needed work for Americans.

Consumer Protection

The AFL-CIO will continue to pursue the goal of retaining and expanding gains in behalf of the American consumer. We shall resist cutback in budgets and diminishment of authority for such crucial consumer protection agencies as the Federal Trade Commission, the Food and Drug Administration and the Consumer Product Safety Commission. We demand the maintenance of full federal operations in the inspection of meat and poultry by the Department of Agriculture. We support the continued functioning of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank.

We will insist that the government keep its commitment to guard the public against unsafe and defective products and to promote honest and fair dealings with consumers.

We support the right of the consumer to full and accurate information about products offered for sale and for protection against unfair monopoly pricing. We demand restraints on the manipulation of consumer credit and all forms of credit gouging.

We support the right of the consumer to be heard in the making of regulatory decisions and in the legislative process.

We oppose efforts to undercut timely and effective rulemaking by regulatory agencies at the behest of business interests. We believe that the government has a crucial and necessary function to perform in the maintenance of orderly consumer markets and in redressing imbalances working against consumers in our economic system.

Food Safety

S. 1442 and H.R. 4014, the so-called "Food Safety Amendments of 1981," would cut an immense swath of destruction in the nation's food protection and would tie the Food and Drug Administration and the meat, poultry and egg inspection programs into procedural knots.

Calling the legislation "food safety amendments" is false labeling. These numerous, complicated and far reaching provisions create a mine field in existing food safety laws. When one mine fails to destroy a program's effectiveness and leaves regulatory blocks in the way of possibly dangerous substances, another mine is available to be exploded and another and another. The bill should honestly be titled, "The Destruction of Food Safety Amendments of 1981."

The bill specifically deals with cancer-causing substances. It is advertised by industry and by supporting senators and representatives as amending—it really effectively repeals—the Delaney Clause. This provision in current law requires the banning of any food additive for human consumption which has been proved to cause cancer in animals. Scuttling the Delaney Clause protection would be bad enough, but the bill goes far beyond this action.

In very clever and sometimes deceptive ways, the measure would tie up federal regulatory agencies for eight or nine years while attempting to take off the market an existing additive even though great evidence has been found that it is cancer-causing. At the same time, the bill would immensely speed the process of permitting a new additive on the market.

FDA or the U.S. Department of Agriculture could no longer ban a substance simply because it is cancer-causing. They would have to study and determine whether the substance posed a "significant risk." Yet, nowhere in the bill is "significant risk" defined. Must the substance kill or maim three human beings in a thousand, five, ten, twenty? Assuming that the agency decided somehow there was a "significant risk," it still could not ban the substance. It would then have to undergo years of study and decision on the cost and benefit of a ban. The economic cost to the industry would have to be balanced against the benefits to human health.

These examples fail to do justice to the enormity and complexity of the bill. In a time when industry complains bitterly of regulatory excesses, it has piled one regulatory complexity upon another to preserve possibly dangerous cancer-causing substances.

The misnamed "Food Safety Amendments of 1981" pose dan-

gers far beyond their consumer problems. They could lead to the destruction of consumer confidence in safety of processed foods. Such a situation would be an unmitigated disaster for consumers, the food industry and food workers—more than a million of whom are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

Consumer groups strongly oppose the misnamed "Food Safety Amendments of 1981." They look to labor for help in view of our commitment to consumed protection; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: By the 1981 convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations that the AFL-CIO will strongly oppose the weakening and breakdown of food safety protection—particularly as represented by S. 1442 and H.R. 4014. We will support lobbying efforts to maintain the integrity of government regulatory activities concerning food safety. This effort is literally a life and death matter.

Human Resources Development Institute

The AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute has since 1968 been an effective arm of organized labor in providing a wide range of employment and training services to the unemployed and disadvantaged especially those groups who often suffer chronic joblessness, such as minorities, youth, the handicapped, veterans, and women. The needs of these groups remain critical today in view of the worsening employment situation.

With its expertise in employment and training matters, HRDI has assisted state and local central bodies and AFL-CIO affiliates to discharge their rights and responsibilities under federal employment and training programs.

The AFL-CIO, therefore, recommends:

- 1. HRDI should continue its cooperative efforts with state and local labor organizations to develop jobs and place the unemployed and to develop employment and training programs serving the disadvantaged, unskilled, unemployed, and underemployed. These cooperative efforts should continue to meet the needs of groups with special employment problems. These services are an important element of the nation's efforts to achieve full employment.
- 2. HRDI should continue to provide technical assistance and educational services to international, national, and local unions, particularly on issues relevant to the private sector emphasis of federal programs, so labor may fully participate in the nation's employment and training programs and protect its rights under the law and regulations governing these programs.

- 3. HRDI should continue to operate special emphasis programs targeted to meet the job and training needs of groups with chronic employment problems.
- 4. HRDI should maintain its national program structure so it can continue to carry out its responsibilities. It is important for the Department of Labor to maintain adequate funding for special national employment and training programs—an area where budget cuts already have affected HRDI.
- 5. The expertise of the HRDI staff should continue to be made available to the departments of the AFL-CIO, affiliated unions, and state and local central bodies in meeting their employment and training needs, including appropriate upgrading, retraining, or other services needed by union members.

Securities and Exchange Commission Regulations

WHEREAS, The Securities Exchange Act of 1934 and subsequent legislation was enacted to protect investors against fraud and abuses of corporate power, and

WHEREAS, The Great Crash of 1929 was caused partly by the wanton disregard for truth and disdain for the individual investor's interests by corporations then existing, and

WHEREAS, Corporate behavior in the United States is rapidly regressing and demonstrates little to inspire confidence in the information provided to guide Americans in their investment decisions, and

WHEREAS, Corporate governance and democracy ought to be taken seriously and fostered by strict regulations concerning shareholder rights and disclosure of material information; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO closely monitor Securities and Exchange Commission proposals to alter requirements that companies disclose information which would protect investors from being mislead, and be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO adamantly opposes any changes in the regulations which would result in fewer companies reporting basic information to the S.E.C.

Cable Television

In a democracy, the transmission of information and cultural values is vital. In past years, radio and television broadcasting have been major forces in this process, but, today, cable television is rapidly supplanting them.

At present, over 4,000 cable television systems in the United States provide service to 21 million homes, approximately 26 percent of all TV households. New cable subscribers are being added at the rate of 250,000 per month and some predict that by 1985 over 40 million households will be "on the cable."

Although the average cable television system has fewer than 20 channels, proposals are under study to build systems in some cities with over 100 channels. Some cable systems now operating are interactive, enabling their subscribers to initiate communications on the system as well as receive them. Many cable television systems receive transmissions by means of communications satellites, including so-called "pay television programming." Cable systems are also being studied as a means of electronic data transmission, for retail merchandising, as a conduit for home security systems, and numerous other purposes. In summary, cable television has a significant impact on the lives of Americans today, and that impact will be increased and broadened in the years ahead.

But even though cable television grew out of television broadcasting it is unique and separate from it, and coherent, enlightened public policy must be developed and applied to cable television so that it can provide maximum benefits for the American people.

To date, despite several attempts, Congress has failed to enact a national policy with regard to cable television, but there are growing indications that another attempt may be made soon.

Because of the importance of cable television to the American people, and consequently to the American labor movement, and the unfortunate precedent set by the Communications Act of 1934, and regulations thereunder, which permitted commercial broadcasting to be monopolized for the selling of commercial products, services and corporate images, the AFL-CIO intends to participate fully in national policymaking with regard to cable television.

Such national policy for cable television must be founded on the premise that those who operate cable television systems must, first, serve the general public interest, rather than any particular interest, including their own. In addition, such policy must promote the widest practicable access to and the expression of diverse viewpoints by means of cable television; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO will work for legislation and regulations for cable television, which

• Impose on cable system operators an affirmative obligation to afford equal employment opportunities to all without regard to race, color, creed, national origin, age or sex.

- Recognize the responsibilities of state and local governments with regard to cable television and refrain from interfering with reasonable state and local economic and other regulations, including, but not limited to, the dedication of channels for public access, educational services, and governmental purposes.
- Promote the extension of cable television service throughout the nation to households without regard to income level.
- Promote wide diversity of ownership of cable television systems.
- Assure that channels on any cable television system which are available for the origination of programming are made available to any person or entity qualified to originate programming on a first-come, first-serve, non-discriminatory basis.
- Abolish the present compulsory license system which is now enjoyed by cable system operators under the copyright laws under which the programming of copyright owners is arbitrarily used by cable systems without paying a fair price for that use.
- Require that candidates for public office have equal access to cable television facilities.

Immigration Policy

The AFL-CIO supports a comprehensive and fair immigration policy that addresses the problems of American citizens either employed or looking for work, is humane in its treatment of illegal aliens who have developed an attachment to the community in which they live, and provides adequate resources and procedures for the enforcement of immigration laws.

One of the most objectionable of the Administration's immigration policy proposals was to set up a guest worker program that would allow 50,000 Mexican workers to enter the country to work for 9 to 12 months in each of the next two years. A guest worker program would worsen the nation's serious unemployment problem and undermine the already low wages in those industries and areas that would employ these temporary workers. Women and minority workers would be most likely to suffer lost jobs and reduced income. Accordingly, the AFL-CIO remains firmly opposed to any guest worker program.

While the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy recommended that government employers and unions should cooperate to end the dependence upon a constant supply of H-2 (temporary) workers, the Administration's proposals will inevitably result in the expansion of the program. The labor certification proposal would seriously weaken protection for Amer-

ican workers by allowing a general, rather than case-by-case determination on needed skills. We oppose any move that would maintain or increase the influx of temporary workers.

We firmly support a system of effective sanctions against employers who hire illegal immigrants, including injunctions backed by criminal contempt for repeat violators. Enforcement crucially depends upon counterfeit-proof identification such as a social security card. The Administration's proposal to fine employers who hire illegal aliens in bad faith would be readily circumvented by the easily counterfeited identification documents the Administration proposes to use. The AFL-CIO will continue to push for a more effective system of sanctions—which relies upon a secure identification document—against employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens.

An effective immigration policy also requires increased resources for border control and interior enforcement. The Immigration and Naturalization Service requires additional staffing and funding to accomplish its mission. We support the INS workers who through their union have attempted to obtain these resources as well as a clear sense of agency purpose.

The AFL-CIO supports a humane and fair program to legalize the status of illegal immigrants who have developed an attachment to the American community provided that further illegal immigration is effectively curtailed. The Administration's conditions for obtaining legalized status are so harsh, however, that they are a mockery of the concept of amnesty. We oppose the unfair application of preconditions to illegal immigrants and not to Cuban or Haitian refugees, the 15-year waiting period, the denial of family reunification, the payment of taxes without the right to the benefits given other taxpayers such as unemployment compensation, and the novel requirement of English language proficiency.

Any expansion of legal immigration must await the solution of other serious problems. First, we must control illegal immigration, cure our unemployment problems, and allow time for the absorption of the millions of illegal immigrants and refugees who have arrived over the last decade. But the United States must not tolerate inhumane treatment that has resulted in physical hardship and even death to those who seek to enter the United States: Haitians, Cubans, Mexicans and others. The transfer of Haitian refugees to Fort Drum, New York, one of the coldest locales in the United States, an area in total contrast to the land from which they came, must be considered at best an act of vindictiveness.

Finally, the AFL-CIO reiterates its support for the continued acceptance of refugees from political persecution. The United States cannot, however, accommodate the more than 15 million

refugees throughout the world. Other nations must be urged to share a greater degree of responsibility for these refugees.

The AFL-CIO will continue to work for a comprehensive and humane immigration policy that is consistant with the needs and goals of American workers.

National Holiday for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

WHEREAS, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was recognized in America as the originator of the nonviolent resistance effort and thus became symbolic of the civil rights movement in this country, and

WHEREAS, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. received national and international recognition as a human rights worker and was the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO mandate renewed efforts to establish federal legislation to proclaim January 15th as a national holiday in honor of the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Legislative and Political Policies

Following Up On Solidarity Day

The success of Solidarity Day lay not only in the huge numbers of Americans it brought to Washington but in the relationships it forged between the labor movement and its allies at the national and community levels.

If the spirit of Solidarity Day is not to fade, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates must build on these relationships in the months ahead.

At the local level, the spirit of Solidarity Day was evident in the successful campaign against tuition tax credits in the District of Columbia. At the national level, Solidarity Day has encouraged increasing resistance in the Congress to the President's domestic policies and proposals.

Within the labor movement, Solidarity Day refreshed the working relations among international unions, state federations and local central bodies.

We must sustain the spirit of Solidarity Day in the communities where working people live and work. We must find new ways of activating our members in every field of trade union endeavor. We must build new bonds, at the grass roots, with friends who share our goals.

Solidarity Day was only a beginning. We must accelerate our legislative and political efforts, both at the grass roots and in Washington, to ensure that the hundreds of thousands who came to Washington on September 19 continue to be heard, loud and clear.

We will make that voice heard again next year, through a strengthened and effective Budget Coalition which will fight again to meet vital social needs, to end the recession and offset the damage it has already done. And we will renew that voice with a series of activities throughout 1982.

It is time now to mobilize for another Solidarity Day—November 2, 1982.

On that Election Day, the labor movement and its allies must march to the polls in unprecedented numbers to elect a Congress that will reverse the disastrous policies of the Reagan Administration and restore humane government to the American people.

To that end, the AFL-CIO pledges its best efforts.

Political Activities

The AFL-CIO has long urged public financing for all federal elections to avoid turning them into auctions. Public financing is now more urgent than ever in light of the vast growth of corporate, trade group and right wing political committees.

Until public financing is adopted, it is vital that labor's capacity to help fund its endorsed candidates be dramaticallly increased. The 1980 elections demonstrated the fast-growing funding gap between union PACs and those of the corporations, trade associations and right wing—a gap which went from 2½-1 in 1978 to more than 5-1 in 1980. Narrowing this gap must be a priority objective of our political programs.

Therefore, the AFL-CIO shall encourage a full-scale effort by all affiliated unions to promote the check-off of voluntary contributions by members to their union political fund. Check-off is the only means through which the AFL-CIO can provide enough funding to endorsed candidates to offset the tremendous amounts their opponents receive from corporate, trade association and right wing PACs.

Government Regulations

The Administration has been using a broad assortment of tactics to emasculate regulations that protect workers, consumers, and the environment. The President's executive order (12291) constitutes an improper encroachment upon the authority of independent regulatory agencies. In his order the President proposes to require regulatory impact analyses, postpone regulations scheduled for implementation and eliminate regulations the Administration considers unwise. For those regulations requiring congressional action to be repealed, the Administration has offered its eager assistance.

Over-riding emphasis has been placed upon the cost of regulation—by requiring either cost-benefit or cost-effectiveness analyses. As a result, the benefits that result from preventing the abuses that caused the public to demand regulation tend to be overlooked. Regulatory protections have also been weakened by the Administration's practice of appointing officials who have little experience or interest in the areas they are supposed to regulate and by the significant reduction in resources devoted to enforcement.

These tactics have been used to attack all forms of regulation protecting workers, consumers and environment. Included in the attack have been: OSHA, Mine Safety and Health Act, Urban

Mass Transportation Act, the Davis-Bacon Act, the Service Contract Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, affirmative action programs, energy price controls, consumer protection laws, and environmental standards.

The AFL-CIO strongly opposes the usurpation of regulatory authority by the Administration, and will fight to maintain essential worker, consumer, and environmental protections. We will monitor the actions of this Administration as they affect essential standards. We will bring appropriate legal action to enforce the laws that are being emasculated by changing the regulations.

Fairness Doctrine/Equal Time for Candidates for Public Office

The Fairness Doctrine and Equal Time Provisions for candidates for political office which are provided for in the Communications Act of 1934 are foundations of the American system of broadcasting. They are rooted in our traditions of democracy and fairness and the recognized need for an informed electorate.

The Fairness Doctrine imposes on broadcasters the obligation to present contrasting views on issues of public importance.

The Equal Time Provisions require that when a broadcaster permits a candidate for public office to use his broadcast facility, the broadcaster must afford opposing candidates for that office an equal opportunity to use that facility.

In September, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), dominated by appointees of the Reagan Administration, voted to recommend that Congress repeal the Fairness Doctrine and the Equal Time Provisions of the Communications Act on grounds that they are no longer necessary.

If the FCC's recommendations are adopted, broadcasters could proselytize on issues of public importance to serve their personal or collective interests without affording any opportunity for response; and, by favoring some political candidates with use of their broadcast facilities and denying broadcast time and mention to their opponents, could dangerously distort our political processes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO will work with other groups of concerned citizens to prevent the repeal of the Fairness Doctrine and the Equal Time Provisions of the Communications Act.

Freedom of Information Act

WHEREAS, A fundamental tenet of our constitutional system is that the government belongs to the people. Recognizing this

the Congress in 1967 enacted the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), designed to insure public access to the information of government. Subsequent broadening amendments have provided greater rights of access, and

WHEREAS, The FOIA has functioned effectively in advancing the goal of public access to government information, while providing protection against disclosure of information which would prove detrimental to the legitimate interests of the providers and the country. Specific exemptions in the legislation protect various types of information from disclosure, including classified documents concerning national defense and foreign policy; confidential business information; information of a personal nature; investigatory files and certain information concerning financial institutions, and

WHEREAS, The Administration and Senator Orrin Hatch have introduced separate amendments designed to limit and narrow citizens' rights under FOIA. These amendments seek to undo the progress which the act has achieved in providing a more open and responsive government, and

WHEREAS, The amendments raise specific problems, including (1) the creation of non-objective overly broad standards for the act's various exemptions and the submitters of the information to declare information confidential, thus precluding disclosure and judicial review; and (2) the institution of new fee provisions which would place substantial financial burden on requesters, effectively reducing public access to government information, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO believes these and other proposed amendments to the act are attempts to nullify the effectiveness of the act and to protect the selfish interests of the business community; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will monitor these legislative attempts to amend the FOIA and aggressively battle any attempts to limit the public's right to know.

State Legislation

Many of the legislative victories of previous years are under attack by anti-labor forces in all states. In order to preserve these gains, improve existing laws, and explore new forms of legislation which benefit all workers, we must increase our efforts in the state legislatures:

1. The AFL-CIO field staff should continue to be available for assistance to central bodies with special emphasis during the state legislative sessions.

- 2. Research and training facilities should be used to maintain, and expand services to state bodies in all areas of state legislation.
- 3. The exchange of data and information relating to technical aspects of specific legislation should be circulated to all state bodies, including the use of special conferences and meetings on a regional basis.
- 4. Labor journals and publications should give wider and deeper coverage to the threat of punitive legislation on the state level.
- 5. International unions should encourage their local unions to pursue state legislative objectives through the collective efforts of their state bodies.

International Affairs

Labor and the World

Peace in the Middle East

The assassination of President Anwar Sadat tragically demonstrates once again that violence and terror are the means used by the foes of peace in the Middle East to achieve their aims. The best monument to President Sadat would be to achieve his dream of peace in the Middle East for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The U.S. has the means to promote the peace process and to assist in its realization. The convention reaffirms the position adopted by the Thirteenth Constitutional Convention that "the one clear hope for peace in the Middle East lies in the Camp David settlement and the ongoing negotiations between Israel and Egypt." We must continue our long-standing commitment to the security of the State of Israel, and oppose bringing into these delicate peace negotiations groups such as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) which have as their avowed goal the destruction of Israel.

We also seriously question arrangements made in the name of defense of the Persian Gulf with countries whose larger objectives are to sabotage the peace process and destroy the State of Israel. The sale of the Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS) to Saudi Arabia is a case in point. Saudi Arabia has declared a holy war against Israel and helps to finance the terrorist activities of the PLO. AWACS aircraft is used not only for surveillance, but as a battle control station. The addition of AWACS to the Arab arsenal would destabilize the Middle East arms balance to Israel's disadvantage.

The AFL-CIO reaffirms its long-standing and unswerving commitment to the security of the State of Israel and to U.S. support for its survival.

We support negotiations between Egypt and Israel and believe U.S. support of this effort offers the best chance for peace in the Middle East.

We oppose efforts to involve the PLO in Middle East negotiations before that organization recognizes Israel's existence, forswears terrorism and commits itself to negotiate in good faith.

We oppose the sale of AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia—an unstable feudal monarchy facing internal security problems. If we are to assist in Saudi Arabia's security, let that country stop

Human Rights

The AFL-CIO continues to believe that human rights must be the cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. The need for an International Bill of Rights whose provisions are observed by all countries is as urgent today as when the federation first called for such an international charter 35 years ago. The key to an effective approach to human rights must be the placing of respect for human personality and welfare above all else. The preservation and expansion of human rights can only be accomplished through the strengthening of democracy everywhere.

It is in this sense that the AFL-CIO calls upon the U.S. Government to make the promotion of freedom of association as the basic principle of such a policy.

The Papal Encyclical on Human Work

The AFL-CIO welcomes the latest papal encyclical on work. Pope John Paul II declared in a major statement to the Roman Catholic Church that labor unions are an "indispensable" element of modern industrialized society, serving as "advocates for the struggle for social justice (and) for the just rights of working people."

In the third encyclical of his pontificate, John Paul defended workers' rights to form unions and engage in strikes and to have adequate salaries, health care, employment, and vacations.

The latest papal letter touches on many specific worker issues, including jobs and unemployment, wages and social benefits, the role of multinational corporations in society, agricultural labor, and the problems of women workers, and the handicapped.

Developments in Poland

It is on this basic principle of support for trade union rights that the AFL-CIO is assisting the free trade union movement in Poland, the developing black trade union movement in South Africa, and the farmers union in El Salvador in the struggle to make land reform a reality. The AFL-CIO hopes for the day when the workers of Poland and other East European countries will have won the undisputed right to form free trade unions, to have representatives of their own choosing, to have the right to strike and to enjoy the rights and benefits of bona fide collective bargaining.

Support for Black Trade Unions in South Africa

The AFL-CIO attaches the greatest urgency and importance to the situation in South Africa, and the emerging tragedy

which will certainly come to pass unless the South African government at long last deals with the growing black labor movement on the basis of equality.

The AFL-CIO will continue to use every avenue to protest continued violations of trade union rights in South Africa, and to support programs to assist in the development of a strong, free labor movement which can fully represent black workers.

Chile

On September 11, 1973, the Chilean armed forces, led by Gen eral Augusto Pinochet, toppled the Marxist regime of Salvador Allende. It became immediately obvious that the newly installed military regime had no intention of relinquishing power. Upor seizing control of the country, the military initiated one of the most bloody chapters in Chilean history. Murders, arrests, purges of academics, intellectual and artistic personalities, suppression of political parties and the abolition of trade union rights immediately became the order of the day.

The Pinochet dictatorship has trampled on the rights of democratic labor from the first days of its reign in that beleaguered country. That labor movement has now suffered its most serious setback to date. The Pinochet regime has implemented a series of policies designed to dissolve the Chilean democratic labor movement, culminating in the destruction of the symbol of democratic labor unions in Chile, the COMACH (Confederation of Maritime Unions in Chile).

The AFL-CIO calls upon the international labor movement to register a vigorous protest against this latest cynical effort of the Chilean dictatorship to crush legitimate worker organizations in that nation.

Nicaragua

The AFL-CIO views the political situation in Nicaragua with increasing alarm as a result of the repressive action of its government over the past several months. The revolution which deposed the tyrannical Somoza regime now threatens to be more oppressive than its predecessor. It has become quite clear that the Sandinist government is committed to the use of the tools of totalitarianism in their efforts to silence all democratic opposition.

The democratic trade union movement, represented by the "Confederacion de Unificacion Sindical" (CUS, affiliated to the ICFTU/ORIT) and the "Confederacion de Trabajadores de Nicaragua" (CTN, affiliated to CLAT/WCL) has been branded "counter-revolutionary" for attempting to organize and to represent the workers.

Properties of these two democratic organizations have been vandalized and confiscated. Their organizers have been beaten

and jailed, and their leaders held up to public ridicule. The right to strike has been eliminated under recently decreed Economic Emergency laws.

The only free newspaper in the country, "La Prensa," has been repeatedly shut down because of articles critical of the regime, and the suggestion has been made by government spokesmen that it be closed permanently. Various Christian denominations which have been consistently outspoken in defense of a pluralistic, democratic society, have been the subject of religious persecution.

Contrary to the initial statements of the Government of National Reconstruction, elections have been postponed until 1985, and many sectors of Nicaraguan public opinion doubt even this promise will be fulfilled.

It has become evident that the pluralistic society, which is respectful of human rights, and which was promised by the revolution, is in fact no longer a goal of the Sandinist Regime.

Instead, the government of Nicaragua has indicated to the world its desire to establish a Marxist-Leninist totalitarian government in Central America against the will of the people of Nicaragua.

The AFL-CIO calls upon the international labor movement to effect an immediate review of these negative events and to take appropriate action at the international level to reverse this disturbing trend.

Developments in El Salvador

While the AFL-CIO will not be deterred from continuing the efforts to improve the lives of farmers in El Salvador by the brutal murders of Michael Hammer, Mark Pearlman and Rodolfo Viera, we wish to make abundantly clear that the AFL-CIO will support any future U.S. assistance to El Salvador only if the government of El Salvador brings violence under control and institutes democratic reforms that improve the conditions of the workers. The AFL-CIO supports the holding of free elections monitored by the Organization of American States as soon as possible.

The AFL-CIO has a special obligation to the family of Michael Hammer, and affiliates are encouraged to contribute to the scholarship fund which has been established to assure the education of Michael Hammer's son.

The World Refugee Crisis

The AFL-CIO feels strongly that we must continue the major effort on behalf of refugees. The U.S. is a land of liberty and a

traditional refuge for the persecuted. The AFL-CIO again urges affiliates to contribute to relief organizations assisting refugees, and calls upon the Administration to continue to work closely with other countries to guarantee refugees a home.

Participation in International Organizations

The AFL-CIO considers the work of the International Labor Organization to be of primary importance in protecting workers' rights, and is pleased to note that certain improvements in the conduct of ILO meetings has taken place. Effective AFL-CIO participation in the ILO is essential, and the AFL-CIO urges affiliates to be prepared to provide effective representation on U.S. workers' delegations to ILO meetings at the request of President Kirkland.

Following the AFL-CIO withdrawal from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in 1969, we have continued to work with and cooperate with that organization in certain areas. Early this year an AFL-CIO delegation met with an ICFTU delegation to discuss reaffiliation. These meetings indicated that it would be useful and productive for the AFL-CIO to reaffiliate. The convention welcomes and supports the decision of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to reaffiliate with the ICFTU, effective January 1, 1982.

The AFL-CIO also feels it important to participate actively in the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the OECD, and to continue to bring to the attention of appropriate Administration officials the studies and recommendations of TUAC. Every national center of OECD member countries should bring forcefully to the attention of its government the necessity to counter the continuing worldwide recession with policies designed to increase employment. No country can by its own national policies hope to deal effectively with the unemployment problem. A coordinated international effort is required, spearheaded by OECD countries.

The AFL-CIO notes with concern the attempts to have the United Nation's Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization embrace an authoritarian doctrine of news control under the guise of "protecting" journalists and enhancing news coverage of developing countries. The AFL-CIO affirms the recommendations of the Executive Council that the U.S. not be a party to any international support of policies that flout our own constitutional liberties, and that the U.S. withdraw from UNESCO if that body endorses reductions on press freedom.

National Defense and the Soviet Threat

The AFL-CIO historically has supported a strong national defense, and reaffirms its steadfast support as a necessary pre-

condition for the survival of democratic institutions, including free trade unions, which are threatened by totalitarian expansionism.

The AFL-CIO underscores that a strong national defense requires a strong economy, and that it is the constitutional responsibility of government to "provide for the common defense" and "promote the general welfare." A vast increase in military appropriations without a carefully conceived defense strategy will not in itself strengthen the U.S. defense position. Failure to promote the general welfare by unjust social and economic policies will undermine the U.S. defense position by generating social tension and political polarization.

The AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress to subject the Administration's defense budget to the closest scrutiny. Defense problems cannot be solved by blindly throwing money at them.

The Congress should carefully analyze specific weapons systems on their merits and in terms of their role in the nation's defense strategy. The AFL-CIO insists that any new weapons systems approved by the Congress must be funded through fair and equitable taxation and not through cuts in social spending.

Justice for El Salvador

The tiny Central American country of El Salvador has seen a frightful slaugher of innocents, including American missionaries and AFL-CIO trade union and agricultural advisors, as well as a terrible denial of human rights which has driven countless thousands of Salvadorans into exile in the United States and neighboring countries.

The basic cause of this conflict has been the resistance of a small group of wealthy landowners to any kind of political or social reform which would give the ordinary peasant or worker a chance to earn a decent living for himself and his family.

After an army coup in 1979 overthrew a dictator named Romero who was subjugating the majority of the people in order to carry out the interests of the wealthy landowning class, a civilian junta was set up headed by Jose Duarte, a member of the Christian Democratic Party. Duarte had previously been elected President in the only parliamentary elections ever held in the country, but was later ousted by another armed forces coup. He was called back to head this junta which presently represents what civilian authority there is.

Duarte and the junta proceeded to adopt a program of land reform, nationalization of banks and the export trade of coffee, and expropriated the estates of the 250 largest landowners. Most of the owners left the country and many of them live in Florida, where they organized "death squads" of mercenaries which they have set up in El Salvador to harass the civilian government, terrorize the peasants, and prevent the distribution of their former land holdings to the tillers.

The turmoil has resulted also in the development of five opposition political parties several of which are dominated by Communists who lead the armed guerrilla movement. They oppose the granting of land to the peasants because it gives them a stake in a stable society, and deprives the guerrilla movement of "revolutionary potential." They also oppose free elections, preferring a revolutionary takover of the government, which they might not secure in free elections.

National AFL-CIO has cooperated with the peasants' movement and helped to organize a peasants' union in order to permit the campesinos, as they are called, to develop the agricultural potential of the land and to earn a decent living for themselves and their families. Last January, two AFL-CIO advisors were meeting with the leader of the peasants' union in a San Salvador hotel when they were gunned down by masked intruders in the hotel coffee shop.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council at its February meeting denounced these murders and urged the U.S. Government to make any further assistance to El Salvador conditional on implementation of the land reform program and a guarantee of trade union and human rights; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the U.S. government press for early parliamentary elections, and demand that the Salvadoran armed forces put a stop to the activities of the right-wing and its death squads. Our government must also insist on the land reform program being carried through to the middle-sized farms, which are the most profitable and so far have not been expropriated, and be it further

RESOLVED: If the opposition parties of the left agree to free parliamentary elections, they should be offered a role in the arrangements for those elections, conditional also on a cease-fire to match the armed forces ending of the "death squads" activity, and be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO supports the view of the trade union movement of El Salvador that a victory of the totalitarian left or of the privileged few of the right would be a disaster for the workers of that beleaguered country, and be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO condemns the flow of Soviet weapons to the guerrillas in El Salvador as well as the use of U.S. weapons by right-wing forces as instruments of domestic

AFL-CIO Program in Support of Black Trade Unions in South Africa

The Executive Council, in a statement adopted at its meeting in Bal Harbour, 16-23 February, 1981, recommended a program of action to assist black unions in South Africa. Since the adoption of this statement the African American Labor Center (AALC) has undertaken a number of steps to implement this program:

- 1. A unit has been established within the AALC with specific responsibilities for the program.
- 2. The elements of a program have been drawn up following discussion with interested organizations both outside and inside South Africa. It is expected that there will be close coordination with the ICFTU on this program.
- 3. A compilation of AFL-CIO affiliates which have collective bargaining agreements with companies with subsidiaries in South Africa has been completed. This information has been used to provide black unions with information needed in their negotiations with these subsidiaries.

To make the carrying out of this program more effective, the Executive Council hereby decides to establish a special labor fund, and encourages AFL-CIO affiliates to contribute to this fund. The Executive Council also recommends that other groups which support a free labor movement in South Africa be encouraged to support our efforts.

Support of Solidarnosc

The creation of "Solidarity," the free trade union movement of Poland, has inspired workers everywhere. For the first time in a country ruled by a Communist Party, workers have won the right to a union independent of the government, a historic victory with far-reaching implications.

Solidarity confronts enormous difficulties. The Polish government continues to frustrate implementation of the 1980 Gdansk agreement and to blame Solidarity for the failures of the economic system imposed on Poland by the Soviet Union. The

people of Poland face a difficult winter, with mounting shortages of food and medical supplies. The Soviet campaign of intimidation and threats against Solidarity continues.

The AFL-CIO salutes the workers of Poland and reaffirms its support of Solidarity. Our Polish Workers Aid Fund has raised over a quarter of a million dollars for the purchase of office equipment and supplies requested by Solidarity. We stand prepared to cooperate with other organizations in helping to meet the needs of the Polish people for food and medical supplies. We urge the U.S. government to provide generous assistance to stave off the prospect of hunger this winter.

Solidarity is an affirmation of the universal need of workers, in all social and economic systems, for their own unions. It has also become the vehicle for the democratic aspirations of the Polish people.

All humanity has a stake in its success.

Reunification of Ireland

WHEREAS, Open tragic warfare is now in its 12th year of bloody existence in the province of Northern Ireland, and

WHEREAS, The Partition Act of 1920 imposed upon Ireland by Great Britain remains the root cause of the conflict, and

WHEREAS, For more than seven centuries prior to the imposition of partition Great Britain had considered Ireland as one island entity, and

WHEREAS, The Partition Act established an artificial entity the dimensions of which are in conflict with historical and political realities, and

WHEREAS, Neither the presence of British troops nor interment, nor abolition of trial by jury have brought order to Northern Ireland, and

WHEREAS, The question of a united Ireland is political in essence and demands a political rather than a military solution, and

WHEREAS, The government of the United States has proffered its diplomatic services to the end of resolving comparable disputes in the Middle East, Latin America, and Southeast Asia among other places, and

WHEREAS, The principle of national self-determination has been a constant American doctrine since the days of Woodrow Wilson; therefore, be it RESOLVED: That the government of the United States initiates peace discussions with the government of Great Britain not only in behalf of peace and justice in Ireland but in the name of free world unity, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the government of the United States urge the government of Great Britain aid the Republic of Ireland to convene a special assembly to draft a charter of human rights in all civil and religious matters which could become part of a basic solution that will recognize the democratic principle that Ireland belongs to the Irish.

Amnesty International

WHEREAS, Amnesty International, a prisoner-oriented organization in the human rights field, has worked diligently and impartially to protect trade unionists and others from political imprisonment, torture and execution, and

WHEREAS, This international organization with affiliates in 41 countries, including the United States, has received many accolades, especially the Nobel Prize for Peace and the United Nations Human Rights Award, and

WHEREAS, The United States affiliate, Amnesty International USA, has worked closely with AFL-CIO affiliated organizations, through its prisoner "adoption" program, Urgent Action Network and campaigns, to free unjustly imprisoned trade unionists throughout the world and protect them from torture by governments seeking to undermine the right of free association; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO commends the useful work of groups such as Amnesty International who seek an end to human rights violations against trade unionists and others.

Education

Education

Elementary and Secondary Education

The AFL-CIO affirms its commitment to building a strong public school system to serve all our citizens. We are opposed to Reagan Administration proposals that would dismantle the federal partnership role in establishing education programs of national significance and special categorical assistance for minorities, the disadvantaged, and the handicapped. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates were in the forefront of the struggle to achieve federal aid to education in the early sixties and we deplore efforts to retreat at a time when equal access to educational programs is critical for providing a productive workforce and eliminating inequities. Therefore,

- 1. We continue to reject tuition tax credit proposals and educational vouchers as detrimental to the advancement of the public schools.
- 2. We urge Congress to fully fund education programs designed to serve all students with special needs, i.e., Title I, handicapped aid, and bilingual programs. We further urge Congress to resist any new initiatives to dilute federal aid through budget cuts or conversion to block grants.
- 3. We ask all our affiliates to assist the schools in teaching about the labor movement. Films, materials and speakers from the labor movement are an invaluable tool for the classroom teacher's efforts to introduce the study of labor into the school program.

Vocational Education

We call upon Congress not to shortchange the students in vocational education and to authorize a program that will enable the system to respond to the problems of youth unemployment. We ask that the reauthorization of Vocational Education continue the federal leadership role; target programs for inner-city residents; provide for teacher training and resources; authorize realistic levels of funding for new equipment and new technologies; and address the question of sex equity for both men and women.

Higher Education

Tuition for higher education should not be prohibitive for workers and their families. We reject Administration proposals for additional reductions in basic educational opportunity grants (Pell grants) and excessive restrictions and limitations on Guaranteed Student Loans. These proposals would deny educational opportunity to hundreds of thousands of students. We renew our call to Congress to fully fund programs of student aid so that the goal of equal opportunity in education may be available to all students.

The AFL-CIO supports and encourages the development of worker-oriented liberal arts degree programs sponsored by community colleges and universities.

We specifically urge our members to begin or continue their higher education in programs designed and sponsored by unionized faculty.

Adult and Worker Education

We call upon our affiliates to increase their efforts in providing education programs for their members. We urge affiliates to work cooperatively to assure that programs for workers receive public support consistent with the funding for programs for farmers and businesses.

We call the attention of our affiliates to tuition assistance plans and other educational benefits which have been negotiated through the collective bargaining process. With the establishment of joint trust funds affiliates have been able to develop a wide range of educational services including remedial, outreach and pre-retirement programs as well as occupational training and higher education scholarships for members and their families.

Social Security and Community Services

Social Security

With enactment of the Social Security Law in 1935, the nation made a commitment to the elderly and to each succeeding generation of older people to provide a continuing share of the nation's abundance to workers after they become too old to work. Now that commitment is in jeopardy because of proposals by the Reagan Administration and conservative forces in the Congress to gut the social security program.

Since social security touches the life of practically every American, responsible public debate concerning its provisions and financing is appropriate. Only in this way can the program be adapted to meet the new and changing needs of the American people. Unfortunately, many recent criticisms are clearly designed to discredit the program and exaggerate its financial difficulties with the purpose of making major program cuts.

The Reagan Administration proposals to slash or eliminate a number of essential social security protections would cut the overall program by 21-23 percent. Disability insurance would be reduced by about one-third and early retirement benefits by 43 percent. These cuts would have a devastating impact on the program and on those protected by it.

The President's recent decision not to push for these cuts pending the report of a proposed study commission is a political maneuver aimed at achieving these cuts by another method. The AFL-CIO will continue to oppose cuts in social security protections whether proposed by the Administration or by any other quarter. We will continue to fight proposals which would:

- Deny social security beneficiaries their full cost-of-living increases.
- Raise the age of retirement or tamper with the early retirement provisions of the law. This is tantamount to an across-the-board benefit reduction for millions of workers and would bear hardest on workers forced into early retirement for reasons of health and inability to find a job.
- Lower the present formula for determining the benefits workers receive at the time of retirement. The present benefit for a worker who has earned average wages is only 42 percent of final wages which is too low and should be increased, not cut.
- Restrict eligibility or reduce benefits under the social security disability program. The present program is already too

stringent—roughly 70 percent of those who apply for disability benefits are denied benefits and most of them never work regularly again. Particularly hard hit are older workers whose reduced health and advanced age make it almost impossible for them to get jobs.

- Reduce or eliminate the "family" component in the system. Numerous proposals are pending that would eliminate children's benefits for early retirees and place a ceiling on survivors and retirement benefits so as to effectively limit the payment level to that specified when there is one dependent or two survivors regardless of the actual number of dependents or survivors. Such proposals are particularly hard on women since they are most likely to be survivors and bear the burden of raising children as single parents.
- Increase Medicare premiums, deductibles and coinsurance. The elderly now pay much higher out-of-pocket payments for health care than before Medicare. The burden of Medicare costs must not be increased.

Such cuts are not necessary to restore financial balance to the social security system. The immediate problem of a likely funding shortfall during the next 5 to 10 years in the Old Age and Survivors' Trust Fund (OASI) can be met by borrowing from the Disability and Medicare Trust Funds which are running surpluses and for a back-up provision allowing for the use of general revenue to protect against any potential cash-flow problems. After that, the OASI trust fund situation will improve and remain favorable well into the next century. In addition, the Congress should remove the social security trust funds from the consolidated federal budget so that social security policy can be determined by program and not general budgetary considerations.

We continue to oppose the taxation of social security benefits.

The AFL-CIO urges the introduction of some general revenue financing to provide relief for workers from the scheduled increases in the payroll tax and to strengthen the financing of the system. Partial general revenue financing was anticipated by the founders of the system and is to be found in practically all industrialized countries. It has been advocated in recent years by the Carter Administration, the National Commission on Social Security, the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Social Security and by the ranking minority member of the House Ways and Means Committee.

We will oppose universal social security coverage for all public employees unless all of the following conditions are met: (1) the level of pension benefits now available to government workers and their beneficiaries is not reduced; (2) no additional financial burden is imposed on public employees, without a commensurate adjustment in benefits; (3) the identity for government workers' retirement plans is not lost and (4) the opportunity for those employees to improve their retirement systems in the future is not diminished.

The AFL-CIO is concerned about withdrawals from Social Security by hospitals and other non-profit institutions permitted under current law. The Congress should act to correct this defect in the law by mandatory coverage of the employees of these institutions.

The AFL-CIO urges the Congress to restore the minimum benefit for all present and future retirees.

We urge the Congress not to be unduly influenced by transitory economic and political events and adopt proposals that will do irreparable harm to the social security rights of American workers and to their confidence in the program. American workers must not be denied social security benefits which they have worked and paid for during their working lives.

Every Congress in the past has made clear beyond question its pledge to the American people that the social security commitment will be honored. The present Administration proposes to violate that commitment. We will do everything possible to make sure that the Congress does not.

While we must direct our energies now to resisting disastrous cutbacks in long-standing social security protections, the AFL-CIO will not lose sight of the continuing need to improve the law.

When the social security program was enacted, the typical American family consisted of a working husband and a wife who was an unpaid homemaker. Since that time major changes have occurred in patterns of work and family relationships. Labor force participation of married women and their divorce and remarriage rates have greatly increased. Though the Social Security Law treats equally men and women with the same work and earnings record, modifications should be made in the law to better relate to these changing work and family patterns. Because the disproportionate number of elderly women in poverty is a particular concern, high priority should be given to more adequately meeting their needs.

Investment of Pension Funds

As pension fund assets continue their rapid growth, and the role of union pension funds in the nation's economy becomes increasingly significant, decisions about pension fund management and investment become ever more important to union members, their families and communities.

The AFL-CIO and its member unions have made considerable progress during the past two years in determining critical areas for action and in taking the first steps to insure the interests of thousands of plan participants and beneficiaries. The recommendations of the Executive Council, based on the report of its Committee on the Investment of Union Pension Funds, have offered a guide for union officials and plan trustees in this important area. The report and the review of its key findings and recommendations with union leaders in training sessions across the country during the past year have aroused a great deal of interest inside and outside of the labor movement.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliates are now urged to follow up this initial action by:

- Actively pursuing the goal of increased union influence in the management of those collectively bargained funds which are currently unilaterally employer controlled. The first step is for unions to obtain full information about the financial performance, management practices and investment policies of their funds. Publicizing this information, and the direct effects of the funds' investment decisions on members' jobs and communities, will help spur interest in union involvement and management of funds through collective bargaining, and legislation, if necessary.
- Encouraging more labor organizations to use the means offered by the AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust and others in establishing accounts to direct pension investment toward union-built construction projects and other enterprises.
- Assisting public employee unions in their efforts to get pension funds of state and local governments to establish special accounts to provide low-cost home mortgages, investments in other types of construction, and economic activity aimed at employment creation. In addition public employee affiliates should be encouraged and assisted in obtaining a greater voice in the management and investment of their funds. These actions are especially important in light of the very significant proportion of the nation's total pension fund assets which public employee funds hold.
- Encouraging and assisting negotiated pension funds to exercise their shareholder rights as part of larger campaigns to advance worker interests in the areas of collective bargaining, occupational safety and health, plant closings, equal employment opportunity and other matters of concern.
- Continuing the training program established last year by the George Meany Center for Labor Studies and the Department of Social Security to inform trustees of pension funds of the findings and recommendations of the AFL-CIO Committee on

Investment of Union Pension Funds and to enable them to become familiar with the strategies, research and investment mechanisms for pension funds developed by an increasing number of member unions across the country.

• Assuming a leadership role in the promotion of investment opportunities and government guarantee programs that promote the "reindustrialization" of the country in such a way as to enhance employment opportunities and well-being of union members as well as the unemployed, the underprivileged and the poor.

Pensions

The Multiemployer Plan Amendments Act made substantial and essential changes in termination insurance for multiemployer plans. Practically every multiemployer pension plan will have to take some action as a result of this law which will enhance the retirement income protection of covered workers.

The Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC) has started preparing and issuing regulations to implement this complex legislation. It is imperative that the PBGC complete this process at the earliest possible time so as to remove the cloud of uncertainty which now exists over the interpretation of this complicated law. The AFL-CIO believes its efforts to date are generally commendable. We urge the PBGC to continue consulting with the affected unions so as to insure the best results for the retirement security of union members.

Though the termination insurance program for single-employer plans has worked satisfactorily, some of the approaches of the multiemployer legislation could improve that law as well. But the AFL-CIO support for such legislation, in principle, should not be construed as a willingness to accept reduction in benefit guarantees for the single-employer program. We are unalterably opposed to such reductions.

The Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) has given workers covered by pensions and welfare plans important new protections. Though the many problems associated with the implementation and early administration of the law are not as severe, they still exist. These difficulties will continue as long as both the Labor and Treasury Departments administer the law. Delay and difficulties are inherent in dual administration. We, therefore, urge placing the responsibility for ERISA administration in a single agency.

Recent studies and reports have made clear the need to protect state and local government retirement systems. Current inadequate protection of the rights of state and local government We urge the Congress to act as soon as possible on these recommendations so that the retirement income of millions of participants in public and private pension plans will be adequately protected.

Health

The escalation in the cost of health services is a major problem for federal, state and local governments and for labor and management. Only a universal comprehensive national health insurance program can contain these escalating costs on a lasting basis.

The AFL-CIO will oppose the elimination or phasing out of federal health programs that are of proven effectiveness. In particular, the AFL-CIO will oppose cuts in appropriations for Medicaid, Health Maintenance Organizations, community health centers, migrant health, mental health and medical education. A high priority will be placed upon defeating efforts to eliminate the health planning program and the remaining public health hospitals.

The health industry is basically non-competitive because physicians control more than 70 percent of health care services and costs. Any attempt to substitute so-called "competition" for regulation is, therefore, doomed to failure. Nevertheless, the Administration is supporting legislation to place a ceiling on employee-employer, tax-exempt contributions for health insurance thereby making workers pay more out-of-pocket for health care. This, it is claimed, will make the consumer more "cost conscious" and, therefore, promote competition in the medical care marketplace.

Competition plans would save money for employers and the federal government at the expense of worker families who would have to make up the savings from out-of-pocket payments. Tax changes would reduce benefits in many negotiated union plans and increase taxes for worker families who wish to maintain prepaid comprehensive coverage. Loss of insurance would induce families to postpone early care, put off obtaining needed health services and risk more serious illness later on.

Defeat of all such proposals which for workers would narrow health care services, increase health care costs and increase taxes is a major priority. As a more rational way to control health care costs, all affiliates are urged to promote local area coalitions of purchasers of health care including employers, unions and health and welfare trusts. Such coalitions could use their purchasing power to negotiate physician fees and hospital charges while at the same time protecting the wages and working conditions of hospital employees.

Deinstitutionalization

WHEREAS, More than 250,000 union members work in public mental health and mental retardation institutions throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, Discharge of the mentally ill and the mentally retarded has been so extensive over the past decade that the number of patients in mental institutions alone has dropped from 428,000 in 1969 to 146,000 today. Since 1970, one-third of all institutionalized mentally retarded persons have been deinstitutionalized, and 38,000 more are expected to be discharged by 1985—a drop from over 200,000 patients to 133,000 in 15 years, and

WHEREAS, Irresponsible deinstitutionalization policies throughout the United States, have endangered the lives of the mentally ill and the mentally retarded by deinstitutionalizing patients literally out of their beds and into the streets or to horrible profit-making nursing and boarding homes, and

WHEREAS, More than 6,000 union members have lost their jobs because of these policies, and

WHEREAS, The Reagan Administration and its Congressional allies have increased the fiscal incentives for patient dumping, and have gutted the minimal legal protections for displaced institutional workers, and

WHEREAS, Institutional workers have valuable experience which can be used to care for deinstitutionalized patients while also protecting union jobs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO actively work with affiliated unions to support enactment and enforcement of effective protection of mentally ill and mentally retarded patients discharged from mental institutions as well as fair and equitable arrangements for workers hurt by deinstitutionalization, including offers of alternative employment (with maintenance of all existing wages and benefits), retraining, early retirement options, severance pay and continuation of collective bargaining and other union-security rights, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO support public operation of

Public General Hospitals

WHEREAS, Public general hospitals play an invaluable role in our health care delivery system as the only place where everyone is guaranteed care regardless of their ability to pay. They are the major source of care for the estimated 24 million Americans without any health insurance and an additional 17 million with inadequate coverage. In addition, they are important providers of primary care in urban and rural "medically underserved" areas, and

WHEREAS, Public hospitals are major employers of women and minorities and provide jobs in communities which offer limited employment opportunities, and

WHEREAS, In the last 10 years a wave of public hospital closures has swept the country because of pressure to reduce excess beds, state and local cutbacks, and the growing number of uninsured persons, and

WHEREAS, Public hospital closures and takeovers by private firms deny poor people access to health care and result in employee and community hardship, and

WHEREAS, The Reagan cuts in Medicare and Medicaid and reductions in aid to state and local governments will exacerbate the already precarious financial condition of public general hospitals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirm its support for the survival of public general hospitals and pledge to fight closures and takeovers by private firms, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO work to prevent further reductions in the Medicare and Medicaid programs and continue to seek health care financing reforms that would preserve the vital role of public general hospitals.

Welfare Reform

For over a decade the AFL-CIO has fought to achieve enactment of comprehensive welfare reform which would provide training and placement in decent jobs for those able to work, adequate income support for the working poor, decent levels of cash assistance for those unable to work outside the home, and

fiscal relief for state and local governments. Only two years ago at our convention we hailed the passage by the House of Representatives of a bill which would have permitted the first vital step toward achieving these goals and urged prompt and favorable action by the Senate on this historic measure. The Senate did not act in 1979 or 1980 but the Reagan Administration and the new Congress did in 1981 by passing punitive welfare legislation. It will reverse the trend of two decades of reducing poverty and instead force many millions into poverty.

The AFL-CIO opposes and will work to repeal these regressive measures which:

- 1. Force the poor even deeper into poverty by reducing the monthly disposable income of all recipients. The level of living public assistance provides the poor, the vast majority of whom are children, is wretched. Reducing it further is unconscionable.
- 2. Discourage work by slashing payments to those whose jobs pay so little they must resort to welfare as a supplement to inadequate wages.
- 3. Require the parents of poor children to take jobs that pay no wages in return for their welfare benefit. Forcing people into so-called "workfare" does not make them wage earners or help them get off welfare. It will neither relieve the American public from supporting them, nor increase their self-esteem or employability. The way we value work in our society is through wages.
- 4. Deny assistance to needy families if the family head is out of work due to a strike. Need should be the sole criterion for welfare eligibility. Workers and their families are taxed to pay the cost of welfare. When in need, they should have the same rights as all other citizens to obtain welfare assistance.

Not satisfied with the harsh cuts already enacted, the Administration is readying efforts to strip the federal government of any responsibility whatsoever for the welfare of poor Americans. This is to be accomplished by legislating a block grant approach to welfare whereby each state will receive an annual fixed amount of federal money at a level less than what they are now receiving. This will leave financially strapped states with the full fiscal burden of trying with reduced funds to meet any increase in their welfare population in future years. Turning total responsibility for welfare over to the states will entrench 50 fragmented, inadequate programs and preclude the opportunity for ever rationalizing our welfare system.

The AFL-CIO urges the Congress to reject proposals for further cuts, resist efforts to enact a block grant approach to welfare and to reconsider those actions already taken which will have such a drastic and inhumane effect on the nation's poor—both increasing their numbers and the severity of their suffering.

Food Stamps

The AFL-CIO considers the Food Stamp Program the nation's principal defense against hunger for those who are forced out of jobs, working for inadequate wages, or through necessity, required to live within the constraints of a welfare budget. We are appalled that the Congress has accepted the Administration's approach based on the cruel and misguided notion that imposing greater suffering on the nation's poor will somehow help to right the economy. The AFL-CIO urges the Congress to resist efforts to cause even more suffering by further slashing the Food Stamp Program and to reconsider the actions already taken which will:

- 1. Cut one million of the working poor off the rolls completely and reduce the benefits now available to an additional one million families.
- 2. Prohibit food assistance to the family of a worker who goes on strike even though eligible on the basis of need. Anyone fulfilling the stringent income and asset eligibility requirements of the Food Stamp Program should be entitled to receive its benefits no matter what the cause of his economic condition. To arbitrarily refuse these benefits to workers on strike whose tax dollars support these and other federal programs is a gross injustice.
- 3. Force workers who have suffered a recent job loss or run out of unemployment insurance to wait several weeks with no income before being eligible for food stamps. In addition to the families of the unemployed, this action would severely penalize migrant and other low income workers with fluctuating incomes.
- 4. Delay the cost-of-living adjustment on the meager benefits provided driving them further out of line with the actual cost of food.

Social Services

The Social Services program provides a valuable and necessary framework for essential services to vulnerable people. For nearly a decade, Title XX of the Social Security Act has funded supportive services which have enabled working parents to receive adequate care for their children during working hours; provided individuals with community-based services in their homes who would otherwise require institutional care; and protected children in need of substitute care due to parental neglect, abuse or family crisis.

The AFL-CIO strongly supported the congressional action taken in 1980 which at long last lifted the totally inadequate

budget ceiling which had seriously hampered the effective delivery of services needed by the aged, disabled, poor and children. In addition to an increased funding level, programmatic reforms were enacted which were designed to decrease the number of abandoned and homeless children warehoused in institutions by streamlining adoption proceedings. In the budget cutting action taken by the Congress as a part of the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1981, these two major improvements were negated. All federal controls and guidance were removed and funding was reduced to \$2.4 billion.

The AFL-CIO strongly opposes and will work to reverse the punitive and economically unsound actions taken by Congress which:

- 1. Abdicate any continued federal role in providing life sustaining services to the nation's most vulnerable citizens by cutting 25 percent from the already dangerously inadequate amounts of federal funding and turning the remainder over to the states with no restriction as to how the money is spent.
- 2. Virtually eliminate any federal commitment to encourage the provision of child care services and facilities by removing the requirement that a specific amount of Title XX funding be spent on child care as well as eliminating any federal standard setting authority over services that are provided.

The AFL-CIO urges the Congress to reexamine these actions which will throw tens of thousands of poor children out of day care, deprive the homeless of needed foster care, cut off services to the elderly and generally make the lives of the poor more miserable.

Child Care

WHEREAS, In recent years record numbers of women have left the home to enter the job market. At no time in our history have so many women worked side by side with their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons. They are wage earners because they wish to be and because they have to be. Millions are the sole supporters of their households. Millions more bring home paychecks that offer the only hope their families have of keeping up with uncontrolled inflation, and

WHEREAS, In support of their families, these women are too often called upon to neglect their families, to leave young children with relatives, neighbors, strangers, even alone and unattended, just to earn the money to put food on the table. The choice between properly providing for her children and properly caring for her children is a choice no young woman living in the United States should be forced to make. Every American mother

is entitled to the right to work in support of her family free from the worry that her children are not being properly looked after. Every American youngster is entitled to experienced, professional child care during those hours when parents are compelled to be at their jobs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention urge the Congress of the United States to establish a comprehensive national system of quality 24 hour a day child care for working parents, staffed by competent, experienced personnel and offering comprehensive health, nutrition and educational facilities that would be a source of pride to Americans and a model of enlightened government action to the rest of the world.

Workers' Compensation

Adequate and equitable workers' compensation protections are vital to the economic welfare of every worker in the nation. Progress in this area, particularly in the application of workers' compensation to occupational disease, still lags behind the nation's technological and industrial development.

The AFL-CIO continues to support the establishment of federal workers' compensation standards. However, because it is apparent that there will be no federal standards legislation in the immediate future, all AFL-CIO affiliates must do everything possible to maintain existing protections and wherever possible, improve upon them. Of particular importance is the need for full compensation for the effects of occupational disease.

In some states, efforts are being made to weaken existing workers' compensation statutes. Under the wage-loss compensation system enacted in Florida, workers who suffer permanent partial disabilities will be compensated only when it can be shown that the disability results in lost wages except in cases of amputation, at least 80 percent loss of vision or serious head or facial disfigurement.

This is an inequitable approach to compensation for permanent partial disability because it fails to recognize the full impact of these disabilities on the lives of workers and their families. In all cases of work-related injury and occupational disease that result in any permanent impairment, workers must receive adequate compensation.

We commend the voters of Ohio and the effective work of the State AFL-CIO in overwhelmingly defeating a recent state referendum to undermine the Ohio exclusive state workers' compensation fund which returns 95 cents of every premium dollar in compensation and medical care. We will continue to vigorously

oppose efforts to scuttle other state funds and to support their adoption in states where they do not exist.

Unemployment Insurance

Since the Reagan Administration came to office, the national unemployment rate has risen to 8.0 percent and is widely expected to reach higher levels in the months and years to come. In fact, high unemployment is a matter of deliberate policy in the Reagan campaign against inflation.

One would think, therefore, that the new Administration would be moving to strengthen and expand the federal-state system of unemployment compensation, the program which was designed to protect workers against the ravages of temporary unemployment and to shore up the economy during such periods. Instead, however, the Administration is moving to curtail and weaken the program of unemployment insurance, a process which was unfortunately begun under the prior Carter regime.

Thus, the last Congress-enacted legislation compelling the states to reduce weekly unemployment benefits by the amount of private or public (including Social Security) pensions received to the extent they were attributable to the employer. It also for the first time in history subjected unemployment insurance to income taxation for individuals with income (including unemployment benefits) of \$20,000 or more and for those filing joint returns with income of \$25,000 or over. A whole series of measures were adopted in the field of extended benefits which required even states which did not have a waiting period for regular benefits to enact such a waiting period in order to get federal assistance in paying extended benefits, required workers to take jobs at the statutory minimum wage no matter what their previous skills or wage levels, and required the disqualifying of workers who voluntarily quit jobs without good cause, were discharged for misconduct or were unavailable for employment for the duration of their unemployment until they had worked again for a specific period and earned a specific amount. Some states previously disqualified workers for voluntary quits or misconduct only for a set number of weeks with no reemployment requirements. No state ever imposed a reemployment requirement to reinstate to benefits a worker who was unavailable for work.

The present Congress has followed up on this by adopting and President Reagan signed into law additional measures on extended benefits which eliminate the national unemployment rate trigger for a period of extended benefits for the nation as a whole, raise the state unemployment triggers for such periods, remove recipients of extended benefits from being counted as unemployed in computing the state triggers and deny extended benefits to any worker with less than 20 weeks of qualifying employment.

This punitive legislation at a time of rising unemployment and increasing exhaustion of benefits is bad enough for the long-term unemployed. The imminent danger is that the tone set for extended benefits will be applied to regular benefits as well. Already proposals are being put forward to force workers who are still unemployed after three months to take jobs at the state or federal minimum wage regardless of their prior skill or wage. Proposals are made to extend the taxation of unemployment benefits to income of \$10,000 for single persons and \$15,000 for couples, and this while Reagan insists on huge tax cuts for the wealthy.

For many years the labor movement advocated the enactment of federal minimum benefits standards in order to raise the average benefit levels in the states. Always the argument of the Congress and the employers in rejecting this was that unemployment insurance is paid for by state taxation of employers and that the state, therefore, should set the benefit standards and not the federal government. Now that the composition of the federal government and the Congress has changed, suddenly the passage of federal benefit standards has become fashionable and acceptable—when it is a matter of lowering the standards instead of improving them.

Let there be no mistake. The budget-cutting hysteria is at the expense of the unemployed. Tax cuts are for the wealthy while tax increases are for the unemployed. The unemployed are the victims of the tyranny of the budget. There is no reason why the state expenditures for unemployment compensation should be part of the federal budget as they now are; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this AFL-CIO Convention condemn the weakening of the unemployment insurance program by the prior and current Congress and Administrations, that we fight to repeal the measures recently enacted and to restore the former provisions, and that we advocate the elimination of the expenditures of state programs of unemployment compensation from the federal budget, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO continues to call for establishment of federal minimum benefit standards as the National Commission on Unemployment Compensation has recommended. Until that goal is achieved, the AFL-CIO urges the states to remove harsh eligibility and disqualification provisions and to increase weekly benefit amounts and benefit duration periods, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges improvements in the financing of the unemployment insurance system without cutting benefits and allowing flexibility in the repayment of loans by the states in periods of high unemployment and recession.

The White House Conference on Aging

The AFL-CIO strongly condemns the efforts of the Reagan Administration to manipulate, confuse and control the 2,200 delegates scheduled to attend the White House Conference on Aging in Washington, D.C., November 30-December 3.

When the Reagan Administration took over direction of the conference last November, the first action of Health and Human Services Secretary Richard Schweiker was to call for all members of the Conference Advisory Committee to submit their resignations. Sixteen members were reappointed, mostly representatives of aging organizations, but sufficient Reagan supporters were appointed to outnumber delegates from the aging groups by at least two to one.

This reorganized Advisory Council approved a voting procedure that will allow delegates only a single "up or down" vote on a total package of all fourteen conference committee reports. The majority of delegates, therefore, will be denied any voice in most of the important decisions made during the conferences on issues affecting older people.

Among other recent Reagan Administration actions which have negatively affected the conference are:

- At a time when all aging groups were being refused access to the list of conference delegates, the Secretary of HHS gave the list to the Republican National Committee which conducted a "survey" of delegates in an apparent effort to influence them to support Administration positions on key issues.
- The Executive Director, a Reagan Administration appointee with a decade of experience in the problems of the aging, was removed just five-and-a-half weeks before the conference was scheduled to begin and replaced by a political appointee whose experience in the field is extremely limited.
- There has been an extraordinary delay in issuance of conference issue papers. Technical committees in each of the subject areas worked all last year to prepare their papers for printing last March. In addition, over sixty White House Mini-Conferences produced recommendations as did Governors Conferences in every state and territory. None of this material had been sent to delegates one month before the conference opened.

• The Reagan staff has decided not to divide the fourteen conference committees into subcommittees—which will mean each discussion group will consist of several hundred delegates and observers. This will afford little opportunity for the majority of delegates to speak.

The AFL-CIO deplores these political machinations obviously designed to control conference decisions. This effort to manipulate the conference to advance the political goals of the Reagan Administration has so shaken the confidence of the public and delegates that an effective conference may now be all but impossible.

We call upon the President and the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services to restore confidence and integrity to the 1981 White House Conference on Aging by taking actions that will insure that the democratic process will prevail and that the decisions taken will truly reflect the wishes of America's senior citizens and their delegate representatives.

Labor in the Community

The development of programs to address human needs evolves from labor's concern for the quality of life outside the plant gate or shop or office door. This is the basis for union concern with housing, education, health care, human rights and a broad range of social services and programs.

Labor's community services capability must be expanded to meet anticipated needs. The AFL-CIO calls upon all affiliates to urge their locals to organize community service committees.

We call upon the network of AFL-CIO labor liaison professionals to conduct the necessary training programs to properly orient those selected to serve on such committees. These programs should be developed under the guidance of the AFL-CIO Department of Community Services and/or international union affiliates community service representatives.

Union members should be mindful of the impact of the Reagan budget cuts on private sector health care agencies when soliciting contributions in local fund-raising drives. We urge every affiliate to step up its efforts to encourage support to agencies which respect the rights of employees to join unions, and which respect the provision of union-produced goods and services.

Civil Rights

Civil Rights

Despite the progress attained since passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, minorities and women continue to experience discrimination in employment. Many employers continue to discriminate in hiring and initial placement, as well as in upgradings and promotions, thereby relegating minorities and women to low-paid, segregated occupations. A national climate of compliance is essential including more vigorous equal employment opportunity enforcement and effective affirmative action programs, if discrimination in the workplace is to be eliminated.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative Action is a term which describes concrete plans to deal with racial/sex inequities in the work place. The labor movement needs to be involved in affirmative action planning, and to support the concept of affirmative action.

We urge our affiliates to continue and increase their support of programs designed to bring about full employment and our expanding economy, recognizing that affirmative action programs have their greatest impact in such an atmosphere.

The AFL-CIO continues to call for positive efforts to ensure that employment opportunities are open to all. Many positive steps can and should be taken through the collective bargaining process. We continue to oppose any destruction of vital non-discriminatory seniority systems which protect all members, men, women, minorities. We urge that such systems be as broad as possible so that all members will receive the full value and protection of their length of service with an employer.

We call upon the federal government to pursue strong enforcement of the executive order banning discrimination by federal contractors through the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs of the Department of Labor. We urge that the OFCCP continue to recognize the necessity for union input from the inception of investigation of an alleged violation through the contract compliance process, especially to the extent that any changes in collective bargaining contracts are proposed.

Employment and Training

The AFL-CIO views with deep concern the systematic dismantling of employment and training programs through drastic budget cutbacks particularly in the Comprehensive Employ-

ment and Training Act, the Department of Labor's Office of National Programs and other youth employment programs.

Our commitment to full employment, job creation programs and job training such as the targeted outreach programs, remains constant as an essential part of our overall struggle for equal employment opportunity.

Although handicapped persons constitute 10 to 11 percent of the population, their unemployment rate is nearly double that of the non-disabled. Failure to provide work for these individuals burdens the economy and wastes the skills and talents of millions.

We believe that this country can achieve social and economic justice when everyone able and willing to work has an opportunity to do so.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

The AFL-CIO strongly opposes all attempts to weaken the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by reductions in funding or imposing restrictions that would result in the slowing down of federal enforcement of equal employment opportunity legislation.

We urge affiliates to utilize the services of, and work with, the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee and Civil Rights Department, appoint officers or staff as civil rights and women's rights designees, and carry out aggressive programs to eliminate discrimination in the work place and to enhance the civil rights of all Americans.

We call upon affiliates to help increase the collection and dissemination of information through the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department about the programs developed by trade unions to expand equal employment opportunities, affirmative action and the participation of minorities and women in their unions and communities.

Community Involvement

We reaffirm the support of the AFL-CIO for improved and strengthened fair housing legislation and for more and better enforcement of existing fair housing requirements.

A close working relationship with civil rights and women's rights organizations is imperative if we are to face today's conservative tide united in the struggle for equality.

The labor movement must continue to strengthen coalitions with civil rights organizations such as the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the South-

ern Regional Council, the Martin Luther King Center for Non-violent Social Change, the National Urban Coalition, Hispanic American citizens organizations and other compatible groups.

We maintain our support for the activities of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement and Coalition of Labor Union Women, Frontlash and the National Council of Senior Citizens.

Radical Right

The labor movement must be vigilant against the growth of the violence-prone, anti-democratic KKK, and the American Nazi Party, and other front groups and the potential of infiltration of our ranks by such groups.

Women Workers

The AFL-CIO calls upon its affiliates to:

- 1. Redouble their efforts in the struggle to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment and to oppose attempts by any states to rescind or nullify prior ERA ratification.
- 2. Continue to fight discrimination in all aspects of employment including wages, fringe benefits, job access, and sexual harassment; treat pay inequities resulting from sex and race discrimination like all other inequities which must be corrected; adopt the concept of equal pay for work of comparable value in organizing and in collective bargaining.
- 3. Encourage full participation in union activities by women trade unionists.
- 4. Encourage participation in the Coalition of Labor Union Women as the Coalition works within the union movement to increase the involvement of women in unions and in the political processes of their communities.
- 5. Continue to push for comprehensive quality child care services in this country.

Extension of the Voting Rights Act

WHEREAS, The Voting Rights Act of 1965 constituted one of the most meaningful, far-reaching and successful actions in the long history of the struggle for racial equality and justice in America. It is no exaggeration to say that more than any other single item of legislation, that Act has transformed the political landscape of the nation—especially in the South. The fact that millions of Americans can—and do—now exercise the right to vote without legal impediment based on prejudice and

discrimination and without fear of reprisal, is a direct consequence of the Voting Rights Act and constitutes a dramatic testimony to the wisdom of those who, 16 years ago, fought successfully for passage of this remarkable piece of legislation, and

WHEREAS. This convention commends the United States House of Representatives for its recent passage of the bill extending the act for another two years. We are pleased also to note the inclusion in the House-passed measure of a provision permitting covered states and counties to avoid the "pre-clearance" provisions of the act, which require Justice Department approval of all changes in laws affecting voting, if they can clearly demonstrate the absence of discriminatory voting laws and the existence of positive efforts to eliminate intimidation and harassment and to promote and expand minority-group registration and voting opportunities over a 10-year period. This provision can provide an important incentive for such jurisdictions to improve their records with regard to voting rights, and at the same time can prevent states and counties with no real history of discrimination from being subject to the pre-clearance provisions because of technicalities in the original legislation. (Whether or not areas are covered by the provisions depends in part upon the extent of voting-participation in the area. As a result, some areas have become subject to the provisions not because of any history of discrimination but because of low voter turn-out which may be caused by a variety of other factors): therefore, be it

RESOLVED: This convention calls upon the Senate to pass—and the President to sign—the Voting Rights Act extension as passed by the House of Representatives.

Equal Pay for Work of Comparable Value

Working women continue to suffer from widespread wage discrimination in the workplace. Full-time women workers earn 59ϕ for every dollar earned by full-time men in the work force.

A 1981 EEOC-Commissioned study completed by the National Academy of Sciences confirms that the enormous wage differential results from discrimination against women.

The AFL-CIO calls upon its affiliated unions:

- To work through contract negotiations to upgrade undervalued job classifications, regardless of whether they are typically considered "male" or "female" jobs.
 - Initiate joint union-employer pay equity studies to identify

and correct internal inequities between predominately female and predominately male job classes.

The AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to recognize fully their obligations to treat pay inequities resulting from sex discrimination like all other inequities which must be corrected and to adopt the concept of "equal pay for comparable work" in contract negotiations.

The AFL-CIO will take all other appropriate action to bring about true equality in pay for work of comparable value and to remove all barriers to equal opportunity for women.

Occupational Safety and Health and Environment

Occupational Safety and Health

The Reagan Administration has substituted dollar costs for human values in the administration of occupational safety and health laws. No longer is the safety and health of workers the prime concern, but rather the protection of management from being requested to shoulder its obligation to provide a safe and healthful workplace for America's working men and women.

The labor movement brought OSHA into being, fought for effective implementation and protected it from attacks both from without and within.

Our responsibility to continue and intensify this battle is even heavier now that we realize the true aim of this Administration is to repeal OSHA administratively. We call on every element of organized labor to redouble its efforts to hold the line and to counterattack in every possible way.

We will continue to challenge administrative actions in the courts and to stimulate assistance from members of the Congress. We urge our affiliates and every state and local central body to educate their members on the effects on their safety and health of this Administration's action, to carefully watch the operations of OSHA among the regional and local offices, and at a plant level, report to their internationals and to the AFL-CIO any valid evidence of failure by OSHA compliance personnel to perform an adequate enforcement job.

We strongly urge:

- 1. Expanded efforts to include effective safety and health provisions in collective bargaining situations.
- 2. Maintenance and expansion of union resources in safety and health training and education programs for their memberships.
- 3. Pushing legislation in various states to require management to identify and inform workers of the generic chemical and other toxic substances. Already 10 states have adopted such laws used in the workplace since OSHA is not giving any assistance in this area.
- 4. OSHA to fulfill its mandate to make the workplace safe for the worker by promulgating comprehensive labeling standards which would provide workers full information on all chemicals, materials and processes used in the workplace.

- 5. Opposition to any effort to repeal workers' rights to company medical and exposure records, rights given to workers under the Access to Records standard promulgated by OSHA in August 1980.
- 6. Opposition to the efforts of the Labor Department to repeal OSHA administratively by crippling the compliance program, subverting the rights of workers under the Act, substituting labor-management voluntarism and consultation for vigorous enforcement, and by failure to provide adequate funding for the New Directions training program.
- 7. Training local unions to use intelligently their rights to party status with the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission which adjudicates contested citations.

We know the job we face. Our guiding principle is the same as that of the act itself: A safe and healthful workplace for every American worker.

The Environment

The Administration has no mandate to turn back the clock and give industry free rein to pollute and despoil in the name of economic progress.

The AFL-CIO will continue to support existing programs which make our air and water cleaner and protect our public lands heritage from exploitation.

The 1977 amendments to the Clean Air Act are now before Congress for renewal or amendment. The Administration and certain conservative members of both houses have put forward proposals which in their entirety constitute a major change of direction in Clean Air Act administration and which will greatly weaken the public health protection afforded by the Act.

The AFL-CIO adheres to our long standing policy of maintaining both pollution abatement and a healthy growing economy and we will adamantly resist attempts to gut one objective in favor of the other. In the evolving field of pollution control we recognize that the provisions of the Clean Air Act should be constantly reviewed to provide efficient and effective regulation. We will:

- 1. Set forth proposals for the congressional review of the Clean Air Act.
- 2. Insist that environmental damage caused by acid rain be dealt with by regulation or amendment to the Clean Air Act.
- 3. Adhere to our long-held policy of maintaining the balance between pollution abatement and a healthy and growing economy.

In so doing we condemn the Administration's action in its twoyear budgetary phase-out of EPA's water treatment construction grants program.

- 4. Support expanded programs of resource recovery as an effective alternative to legislation at any government level to restrict or prohibit the use of non-returnable beverage containers.
- 5. Call for strong enforcement and adequate personnel for administration of the Surface Mining and Reclamation Act.
- 6. Continue efforts to seek effective worker protections and provisions against discrimination and environmental blackmail in all environmental statutes.
- 7. Support a national land-use policy which takes into consideration its effects on employment and economic growth.
- 8. Reaffirm support for the principle of family ownership of farmland and retention and strengthening of acreage limitation and anti-speculation provisions in federal reclamation laws.

Shipbuilding Safety

WHEREAS, Along with all sections of the labor movement, we were early supporters of OSHA and will continue to fight any and all attempts of its detractors to destroy OSHA, and

WHEREAS, With the enactment of OSHA came the phasing out of the special Maritime Section within the Department of Labor which had been responsible for shipyard and longshore safety since 1958. Prior to 1971, when this change took place, the maritime industry had 86 fulltime Maritime Compliance Officers there and now only 18 work parttime in our industry. This has resulted in fewer inspections and more and more disregard of the safety standards by management; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the delegates to the AFL-CIO Convention urge the Secretary of Labor to reestablish a Maritime Operating Division, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the delegates to this convention bring this matter to the attention of their elected representatives in Congress.

Hotel/Motel Fire Prevention

WHEREAS, Approximately 12,000 hotel and motel fires occur annually in the U.S. killing hundreds and destroying millions of dollars worth of property, and WHEREAS, Hotel fires jeopardize the lives of hotel employees, guests and fire fighters, and

WHEREAS, In most cases, hotel employees receive little training on how to fight small fires, how to survive a serious fire or how to assure the hotel is complying with the fire safety laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the education of hotel and motel workers on preventing and surviving hotel and motel fires, and be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO calls upon local governments to ensure that fire codes are complied with and that they are effective.

Health Effects of Overexposure to Grain and Flour Dust

WHEREAS, Since 1977, 95 workers have lost their lives and over 240 have been seriously injured in 112 grain elevator and mill explosions, and

WHEREAS, Grain dusts are among the most explosive known to man; and

WHEREAS, Besides the explosion hazard, grain and flour dust are known health hazards causing chronic bronchitis and asthma, and

WHEREAS, Currently there are no specific OSHA standards for grain or flour dust and the Administration has let it be known that no such standard will be promulgated, and

WHEREAS, Moreover, the Administration closed the office of grain safety in the Department of Agriculture and has stopped funding investigations of why grain explosions occur; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls upon the Administration and Congress to continue investigating grain elevator and mill explosions, for the information provided by these explosions is crucial to developing an effective strategy for preventing these tragedies; and be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO also calls upon NIOSH and the NCI to continue funding studies on the possible long-term health effects of over-exposure to grain and flour dust; and be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO demands that OSHA promulgate strict and effective standards to protect workers from grain dust explosions and the serious health hazards posed by these dusts.

Video Display Terminals (VDT's)

WHEREAS, An increasingly utilized new technology, video display terminals, already entrenched in hundreds of thousands of offices and plants across the continent, is bringing with it a new kind of job health problem, and

WHEREAS, The apparent advantages of the system have led to the installation of an estimated five million of the machines in workplaces across the nation, changing the daily routine for countless workers, and

WHEREAS, Accompanying the good some workers see in the technology has been a countervailing evil. Continuous exposure to the devices has caused noticeable health problems for some; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this Fourteenth Convention express its deep concern about the health problems that are inherent in the operation of VDT's and CRT's, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates take every action to establish and support programs to provide a continuous and on-going study for the monitoring of these Video Display Terminals and for obtaining adequate occupational safety and health protection for personnel operating these machines, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates whose members operate this equipment insist that they be provided effective safeguards in their collective bargaining agreements.

Labor-Management Relations

Organizing

Organizing the millions of unorganized workers in the United States is one of the most important challenges confronting the American labor movement. In each national convention since the merger in 1955 the AFL-CIO has reaffirmed its determination to organize the millions of unorganized workers. Most of these workers have had little or no experience with trade unions and do not know about the benefits of union membership.

The Constitution of the AFL-CIO mandates this organization "To aid and assist affiliated unions in extending the benefits of mutual assistance and collective bargaining to workers and to promote the organization of the unorganized into unions of their own choosing for their mutual aid, protection, and advancement." We reaffirm that commitment.

Although organizing efforts continue to produce an increasing number of new union members, unfair and illegal tactics of labor-management consultants and employers hinder employees in their pursuit of collective bargaining through organizing. Pre-election activity, surface bargaining, forced strikes and instigation of decertification petitions require that union organizers be well versed in the tactics of the consultants and well trained in strategies to neutralize their effect.

The National Organizing Committee and the Department of Organization and Field Services must continue to take the initiative in the development of creative new strategies and the refinement of proven methods to combat the union busters. We commend the committee and the department for their efforts in this regard as well as for their production and dissemination of information, and implementation of programs and special projects to meet the organizing objectives of AFL-CIO international union affiliates. We urge the continuation, and, where appropriate, expansion of these projects and programs.

We encourage all affiliates to continue providing assistance in establishing and maintaining files on the practices and activities of union busters in both the public and private sectors. The department should continue to fill requests of affiliates for this information in a timely manner and should maintain its monitoring of the compliance of employers and consultants with requirements of the LMDRA. Advantage should be taken of every opportunity to expose the anti-union activities of these consultants to the public communications media.

We call on the committee and the department to continue their critical work on special projects such as the development of manuals on communications, post-election activity, targeting, and positive labor relations, as well as programs such as "Project Counter Attack" to deal with the problem of decertification.

With respect to targeting, we urge the Department of Organization and Field Services to encourage and assist the organizing committees of state and local central bodies to develop and maintain card files of contacts in non-union work places in their areas of territorial jurisdiction. Additionally, the department should encourage such organizing committees to develop surveys of non-union firms and facilities.

The department should continue to explore the practical application of polling techniques and the use of computers and other technology in organizing.

The National Organizing Committee should continue to advocate and support cooperative organizing as strategy in various parts of the country. Special emphasis should be placed on ensuring that the Houston campaign reaches its full potential, and to this end, we urge the total support and cooperation of all affiliates.

We recommend the Department of Organization and Field Services intensify its programs of developing training projects for organizers complete with instructors' manuals, reproducible materials, role playing and simulation situations to allow for fullest participation and utilization of "learn by doing" philosophy. The department should continue its involvement in organizer training programs developed by international unions and trades departments, and its cooperative efforts with the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in devising and carrying out jointly planned and administered programs for multiple-union participants.

Furthermore, we recommend that organizing efforts shall include: the continued development of thorough corporate research techniques, with the AFL-CIO also increasing its education efforts in this regard, models for aggressive participation by unions in a variety of corporate activities designed to exert pressure upon targeted employers, and use of effective methods of participating in corporate affairs as shareholders, including an examination of the role to be played by pension funds in influencing corporate labor relations activities.

Union Busting Consultants

WHEREAS, Union busting has again reached epidemic proportions in the U.S., and with each year the techniques of

employers to keep the union out become more and more sophisticated. It is now estimated that in more than two-thirds of all organizing campaigns employers hire so-called "labor relations" consultants at a cost exceeding \$500 million annually. Pinkertons and "goon squads" have been replaced with high-priced consultants and slick attorneys, and

WHEREAS, The actions of these consultants and the employers who hire them often deprive workers of their federally guaranteed right to organize and bargain collectively through their own chosen representatives. These tactics create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation at the workplace, and

WHEREAS, Unfortunately, both labor relations consultants and their clients have been negligent in reporting their activities to the Department of Labor. The Landrum-Griffin Act requires that they report such activities to persuade workers so that workers and unions are aware of employer activity and can ensure that their rights are not abridged, and

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor, which is responsible for the administration of Landrum-Griffin, has been most diligent in enforcing those provisions of the law pertaining to unions, but has been reluctant to enforce reporting by employers and the consultants they hire; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO expand its educational efforts to make union members and the general public more aware of the growing threat of the union-busting industry to organized labor. Further, we urge the Department of Labor to fully enforce the Landrum-Griffin Act to assure the required reporting by employers and labor relations consultants.

Decertification Activities of Major Corporations

Anti-union activities by many of America's major corporations are nothing new to American workers, who have become used to the efforts of plant management—often with the help of paid outside management consultants—to bend or break the labor law to prevent the expansion of collective bargaining. What is new is the recent efforts of a number of companies to roll back collective bargaining relationships where they already exist. This effort takes the form of company-stimulated decertification elections, which are aimed at breaking off union-management relationships which in some cases have existed for many years.

Many affiliates which participate in the Coordinated Bargaining program are beginning to feel the impact of this relatively new level of anti-union intransigence. In the Federal Pacific division of Reliance Electric, what was regarded as an increas-

ingly productive relationship has been disrupted by decertification elections in three plants, two of which were lost by the union. The attached intra-company communication verifies that Reliance Electric was deeply involved in the decertification effort at their Stone Mountain, Georgia, plant.

After many years, a number of affiliates have achieved full coordination of collective bargaining with the Square D Corporation and recently unions and management had benefitted from a generally peaceful relationship. This relationship has been rudely interrupted by a decertification petition filed in a Square D plant in Texas, with the obvious support of local plant management.

Trying to hold off unionization is nothing unusual for American corporations. A number of companies have paid a heavy price in fighting unions and have earned considerable notoriety in the process. But in the past it was rare for major American companies to try to overturn a collective bargaining relationship once it became established. Today it is becoming less rare. It represents a menacing new direction taken by American industry, a threat not only to many individual unions, but to the basic role of free trade unionism in our democratic system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates use every resource at their command to stop these blatant efforts to destroy established collective bargaining relationships, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates urge responsible corporate leaders to weight the ultimate effect of these new anti-union efforts on the basic relationships between labor and management and, indeed, on the fabric of industrial life in a free society.

The Hobbs Act

During the formative years of the American trade unionism union-busting companies used local, state and federal authorities to intimidate striking workers into submission. Gradually over the years, however, federal labor legislation was enacted that provided workers the right to organize and picket lawfully.

Currently there are two bills before Congress which would severely restrict this important right. Both S. 613 and its companion bill, H.R. 450, would make the Hobbs Act anti-extortion law applicable to striking workers seeking a perfectly lawful collective agreement. The proponents of this legislation are union busters at heart.

The Hobbs Act provides federal criminal sanctions against certain specific types of racketeering. The law takes care to

maintain a clear division between federal and state authority by assuring that the primary responsibility for law enforcement is left at the local level.

In the 1973 Enmons Case, the Supreme Court ruled that the Hobbs Act was not intended to apply federal penalties to wrong-doing that takes place during a lawful labor dispute. The court carefully noted that congressional intent, in passing the Hobbs Act, clearly militated against putting the federal government in the business of policing strikes. The court's decision made clear that existing state and local laws continue to apply and are sufficient to deal with such situations.

S. 613 and H.R. 450 would overturn the Enmons decision and impose the severe federal penalties of the Hobbs Act on acts or threats of violence. A striker or union official could be subjected to a 20-year prison term and a fine of up to \$250,000, while an employer and his agents would, for the same offense, be subject to far lesser state and local penalties.

This biased legislation could be misused by anti-union prosecutors and become the excuse union busters need to provoke picket line disturbances. This unfair legislation can only increase labor-management tensions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Convention of the AFL-CIO joins all AFL-CIO affiliates in opposing any legislation such as H.R. 450 and S. 613 that would deny union members equal treatment under the law.

Right-to-Work Activities

The number of states faced with the threat of open shop legislation in the past two years is cause for concern. The threat of a so-called right-to-work law in any state or region is a threat to the entire labor movement.

Our most immediate response to such threats must be a special effort to increase the number of affiliates in all state and local central bodies, but especially those who are currently bearing the brunt of the attack on free collective bargaining.

We applaud the accomplishments of the state bodies that have defeated so-called right-to-work legislation as well as the states that were successful in providing agency shop opportunities for public employees.

We urge the Executive Council to continue with its programs of seeking special assistance to state bodies confronted with threats of right-to-work laws.

We also urge a continuation of the policy of careful screening

by the Committee on Regressive Legislation of all targets for repeal of right-to-work laws.

Field Services

The Department of Organization and Field Services is responsible for AFL-CIO activities in organizing, assisting state and local central bodies, servicing directly affiliated local unions, supporting authorized boycotts and supporting all other departments in field implementation of national AFL-CIO priorities. Because of the significance of these efforts to the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, we urge the department:

- 1. To continue to assist affiliated international unions in their campaigns to organize the unorganized.
- 2. Through the National Organizing Committee and its own facilities, to continue to expose the anti-union tactics of labor-management consultants, to provide information on effective means of combatting these union-busters.
- 3. To develop new programs and projects for dealing with the variety of obstacles union organizers encounter as they help workers obtain collective bargaining through organizing.
- 4. To provide and encourage greater support of existing coordinated organizing programs and to consider initiating additional such cooperative organizing programs. In particular, the department should seek maximum support and cooperation from all affiliates for the cooperative organizing program in Houston.
- 5. To assist affiliated unions and state and local central bodies in support of authorized boycotts.
- 6. To strengthen state and local central bodies by continuing to provide assistance in their programs to increase affiliation of local unions. The strength and effectiveness of state and local central bodies is directly proportional to the level of local union affiliation and degree of participation. Improvement will translate directly into greater opportunities for success in central body legislative and political education programs. The activities of the department in the legislative and political education programs of the central bodies, should be continued—especially in efforts to resist regressive legislation such as the so-called "right-to-work" law.
- 7. To continue to assist directly affiliated local unions transfer affiliation to AFL-CIO international unions.
- 8. To place a continuing high priority in helping develop an effective grass-roots support network for AFL-CIO legislative and political objectives.

Lie Detectors

WHEREAS, The use of so-called "lie detector" tests in employment violates the fundamental Constitutional guarantee of privacy and assaults basic human dignity. Yet, workers are continually harassed by "lie detector" tests. While medical science has steadily rejected the notion that honesty can be accurately measured, more than 500,000 workers last year were subjected to polygraph tests. The use of lie detectors is disproportionately high in the industries organized by FBTD affiliates, and

WHEREAS, With the passage of the 1974 Privacy Act, Congress created a bipartisan Privacy Protection Study Commission. Calling polygraph tests an "unreasonable invasion of privacy that should be summarily proscribed," the Commission recommended that a federal law be enacted to forbid an employer from using these devices to gather information from an applicant or employee. The Commission also asked that Congress implement this recommendation by a statute banning the manufacture and sale of these truth verification devices, and

WHEREAS, Questions asked during a lie detector test often have little to do with subjects relating to employment but rather delve into personal aspects such as sexual habits, religious and political beliefs, and union activities. The use of lie detectors represents unfair employer intimidation and suggests an alarming trend toward the psychological manipulation of workers, and

WHEREAS, State licensing offers no substantial protection to workers but rather legitimitizes the use of lie detectors, and

WHEREAS, Congress has, over the years, set limits on the conditions employers can impose on employees. Assaults on constitutional rights and on fundamental human dignity should not be tolerated at any time in any state or by any device; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly urge Congress to enact legislation which would protect workers from the use in employment of so-called "lie detectors."

Public Employees

The Air Traffic Controllers

The Reagan Administration's brutal punishment of the members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization shows no sign of relenting.

The AFL-CIO calls upon its affiliates to continue their assistance to these embattled trade unionists. They need help in manning picket lines, meeting family responsibilities, and finding jobs.

Through its PATCO Family Assistance Fund, the AFL-CIO has provided over \$625,000 in aid to air controllers and their families threatened with mortgage foreclosures, eviction notices, and other serious economic hardships. We shall continue to help.

The AFL-CIO urges the President to return these workers to their jobs. Mass firings, fines, and union decertification will not assure safe and reliable air travel for the American people. Nor will they save the taxpayers the high cost of training thousands of new controllers.

It is time for the President's demeaning vendetta against the air controllers to stop. It is time, in Gompers' words, for "more justice and less revenge."

Contracting Out

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO at its 1979 Convention adopted a resolution opposing the contracting out of public services which reads as follows, and

WHEREAS, Nothing is more basic to the role of the American labor movement than the defense of a worker's job and the guaranteeing to him of equal protection in terms of working conditions. For public employees, this protection is now jeopardized by the contracting out of their work to private business contractors. Public employees are told, in effect, that if they bargain for increased wages and fringe benefits and insist on a decent standard of living, the public employer will contract out the work. They are told it can be done cheaper by private business contractors. Standards of workplace decency that have taken years to establish are threatened with overnight extinction when the employer decides to contract out work, and

WHEREAS, Private business contractors - both large and

small, organized and unorganized—are willing accomplices. They stand ready to perform work that has historically been performed by public employees. Frequently they are initially willing to perform this work at a cheaper rate and without fringe benefit costs attendant to regular employment, and

WHEREAS, Public management claims that contracting out represents a money-saving alternative to in-house work in broad areas of service and support functions. These broad areas have historically covered transportation, maintenance, dietary, laundry and cleaning. There is now an additional thrust toward contracting out in such professional areas as data processing and engineering. Moreover, the health care field now sees the closure of hospitals and subsequent use of private facilities instead of public institutions, and

WHEREAS, Contracting out is presented as a savings to the taxpayers. In reality this is a false economy. There is no proof that private business contractors are more effective or less expensive than their government counterparts. Rather, there are hidden costs that do not show up immediately. Experience in the federal government demonstrates that costs of contracting out increase substantially in succeeding years and these increased contractual costs effectively eliminate projected savings, and

WHEREAS, Studies by government agencies and independent research centers are unable to show substantially better savings or effectiveness by contracting out. The City of Memphis announced that after studying the extension of private contract refuse collection to a fringe neighborhood, it abandoned the idea because municipal refuse service was demonstrably cheaper, and

WHEREAS, Public employers must examine their present methods and then improve substandard management procedures so that costs can be cut and productivity raised. Such examination and improvement must be made before the contracting out of services is contemplated, and

WHEREAS, Productivity "improvement" cannot be converted into simple speed-ups or souped-up cost-effectiveness analyses. What is needed is a definition of productivity which places greater emphasis on the quality of services being delivered. This quality ideal should take into account a wide range of elements, including the distribution of public services. What this means is that "productivity" can and should be translated into good management. Beneficial change will come only when management deals with its own responsibilities, and

WHEREAS, Contracting out also has become a new form of political payoff and aggrandizement. We have only to look at the recent scandal where a former vice-president of the United States

was accused of bribery in connection with contracting out of architectural and engineering services while serving as a county executive. In Albany, New York, a state inquiry into the city's contracting-out practices uncovered widespread corruption and deteriorating public services. Albany's reliance upon private contracts resulted in the waste of millions of dollars; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the principle that public work which has traditionally been performed by public employees should continue to be performed by public employees, and that public work which has traditionally been performed by private employees should continue to be performed by private employees, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO continues to endorse and reaffirm its support of this policy.

Federal Employee Pay and Benefit Reform

WHEREAS, The federal worker is denied the right to collective bargaining on benefits and pay which is currently set by private sector wage surveys of prevailing pay rates, and

WHEREAS, The pay and benefits of federal workers is now under attack by the Reagan Administration which has proposed drastic reductions in current pay and benefits which will affect our federal sector members for many years in the future and reduce current take home pay, and

WHEREAS, Wages, leave, health insurance, retirement, injury compensation, overtime pay, holiday pay, COLA increases, and life insurance are all targets for meat-ax reductions under this presidential administration, and

WHEREAS, Federal workers are legally denied the right to strike to preserve pay and benefits now received, and, therefore, must use legislative means to thwart financial hardships on themselves and their families, and

WHEREAS, Even under current law the president and the Congress decide on a year-to-year basis what portion of the prevailing rate wage surveys will be given to federal workers and has, since 1977, denied full comparable wage and benefit increases as intended by Congress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the delegates to the AFL-CIO Convention support the efforts of the federal worker to defeat the Reagan Administration's attempts to single out federal workers' wages and benefits for further reductions to promote his political career.

Amnesty for Postal Workers Fired for Allegedly Participating in a Work Stoppage

WHEREAS, More than 200 postal workers employed at the New York Bulk and Foreign Mail Center, in Jersey City, New Jersey; the Meadows Facility in Kearney, New Jersey; the San Francisco Bulk Mail Center and the Los Angeles Bulk Mail Center in California were fired from the Postal Service for allegedly participating in a work stoppage at the above installations, and

WHEREAS, After over three years, more than 100 of these workers have still not been restored to their jobs, and

WHEREAS, A total of 6,000 postal workers in these facilities failed to report for work at certain periods from July 21, 1978, and several days thereafter, and

WHEREAS, There was great confusion after the contract deadline of midnight July 21, 1978, and

WHEREAS, In 1970, almost 200,000 striking postal workers went back to work without any penalties, and

WHEREAS, Discharge is tantamount to capital punishment in the industrial sector, and

WHEREAS, The fired workers are U.S. citizens including many war veterans who deserve the rights and freedoms of all workers, and

WHEREAS, A former president and thousands of draft dodgers were pardoned for their infractions, and

WHEREAS, Over three years thrown out of their postal service jobs is already too much punishment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO assembled in convention in New York City, goes on record deploring the use of a penalty in industrial relations that exceeds the alleged infraction, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO assembled in convention in New York City, goes on record requesting the Postmaster General of the Postal Service to take immediate action to reinstate all postal workers fired in 1978 for allegedly participating in a work stoppage, to their former positions in the U.S. Postal Service, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO assembled in convention in New York City, requests the President of the United States to grant AMNESTY to all postal and federal workers fired for allegedly participating in work stoppages, as a demonstration to the people of the United States and the world that human rights

and workers' rights are as important in this country as anywhere else in the world.

Federal Fire Fighters' Hours Reduction

WHEREAS, The workweek of private and public employees has been 40 hours per week for the last 35 years, and

WHEREAS, Fire fighters throughout this nation work an average of 54 hours per week with some departments working as little as a 42-hour week, and

WHEREAS, Federal fire fighters are still working 72 hours per week and at the same time earning far less than their counterparts in the local and municipal levels, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters had a bill introduced into the 95th Congress which would reduce the federal fire fighters' workweek from 72 to 56 hours per week, protecting their present pay from being reduced by a reduction in workweek, and

WHEREAS, Both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate passed this bill by substantial margin only to have the President of the United States veto same; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports with all of its energies and resources the passage of H.R. 3204 reducing the federal fire fighters' workweek from 72 to 56 hours per week, and be it further

RESOLVED: That all AFL-CIO affiliates upon passage of this bill urge President Reagan to sign into law this much overdue legislation.

Opposition to Administration's Federal Employee Injury Compensation Act Reform

WHEREAS, Because the federal government has failed to provide safe and healthy working conditions, these working conditions injure, maim, kill and disease the working men and women making it necessary for these workers to accept injury compensation benefits or starve, and

WHEREAS, The Congress is now attempting to radically reduce benefits currently being paid to injured federal workers under the Federal Employee Compensation Act. Such changes now being considered will gut the legislation and allow federal agency and postal managers to decide who will receive injury

compensation and then provide poverty level benefits to those who do receive them, and

WHEREAS, The Congress intends to eliminate 800 million dollars in F.E.C.A. benefits rather than provide safe working conditions costing much less; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the delegates to this AFL-CIO Convention strongly oppose any amendment to the Federal Employee Compensation Act which removes or reduces current benefits.

Legislative OSHA Coverage for Public Employees

WHEREAS, The United States of America has had employees who work in shipyards, factories, and offices for over 200 years and seldom has the government shown any compassion for the injured and dead worker, and

WHEREAS, Congress passed a law in 1970 to protect private sector employees' safety and health, but to this day federal workers are exempt from the specific provisions of the OSHA Act, and

WHEREAS, Injuries to federal workers increase annually at an alarming rate and their safety and health is guarded only by executive orders which can be removed or modified by the President with the stroke of a pen whenever he feels the urge to change such an order, and

WHEREAS, Many state and local government employees lack effective health and safety protection, and

WHEREAS, The right to good health and good safety conditions on the job should be the right of all American workers and guaranteed by the law of the land; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the delegates to the AFL-CIO Convention push for legislated OSHA protection for federal and postal workers, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO seek effective OSHA legislation for state and local employees.

Transportation

Transportation

The nation's transportation system is key to the performance of the economy. Deficiencies in the transportation system that result in delays in delivering goods are reflected in price increases that ultimately must be paid by the consumer. A strong transportation network would generate jobs, enhance economic efficiency, protect the environment, improve national security, and reduce our dependence on foreign energy sources. Reductions in federal funding for transportation are unwise, and further reductions should be vigorously resisted. Instead, the government, business and labor should engage in a cooperative effort to ensure that all elements of the nation's transportation system remain viable.

Airlines

The imminent phaseout of the Civil Aeronautics Board as a result of sunset provisions in the airline deregulation bill leaves two key labor protection questions unanswered. First, the airline deregulation bill incorporated labor protection programs to assist employees affected by deregulation. The Department of Labor, however, repeatedly delayed implementing these protections, and recently has suggested that they be scrapped. Further, the Civil Aeronautics Board oversees protection for workers affected by mergers.

It is imperative that the protections for workers affected by deregulation and mergers be implemented and maintained.

Airline safety relies heavily on having an adequate number of flight attendants on board. The proposal to base the minimum flight attendant requirement upon the number of passengers, rather than the number of seats, would substantially diminish passenger safety. On smaller planes this proposal could result in requiring only one attendant to be on board. If this one attendant is injured, or is isolated from passengers by an emergency landing, the chance of passengers exiting safely would be substantially diminished. If a minimum flight attendant requirement is to be established, it should be based upon the number of seats instead of the number of passengers.

As a result of the economic recession and government deregulation, thousands of airline workers have lost their jobs. Workers and unions now face a new threat from the runaway tactics of "alter ego" airlines set up by established carriers in an attempt to avoid union contract obligations. A case in point is New York Air, which was set up by Texas International through a

holding company in order to employ non-union workers at wages and working conditions far below industry standards. The AFL-CIO strongly objects to the creation of "alter ego" airlines, and urges affiliated unions and labor press to publicize the fact that such operations as New York Air are unfair to union members.

Maritime

A strong maritime industry with U.S.-built, U.S.-flag ships is vital to the nation's economy and its security. During the entire post-World War II period, however, the industry has suffered a relentless erosion, with an accompanying loss in jobs and in the nation's security. Today, less than 4 percent of U.S. exports and imports are carried in U.S.-built, owned, and manned ships, compared to 52 percent in 1946. American vessels provide the greatest measure of protection to the marine environment and to people and property at sea because our construction and workmanship standards are unsurpassed by any other nation. It is imperative, therefore, that the vitality of this crucial industry be restored.

Legislation is needed to protect national security by ending the "effective control" theory which allows major U.S. oil companies and other U.S.-based multinational operations to use runaway-flag, foreign-flag vessels to carry over 95 percent of oil imports.

The merchant marine should be strengthened through active federal maritime programs, including using the merchant fleet as a naval auxiliary. The integrity of the Jones Act must be maintained against any attempt to weaken it, such as the recent effort to establish a waiver to allow foreign ships to carry lumber from the West Coast to Eastern and Gulf Coast ports. No exception should be allowed to laws requiring that one-half of all cargoes generated by U.S. government be carried in U.S. flag vessels—including cargoes intended for the U.S. Strategic Petroleum Reserve and for the Food for Peace Program (PL 480). Foreign fishing rights in U.S. waters must be restricted to ensure the continued viability of the domestic fishing industry. Limiting foreign operations would both create thousands of U.S. jobs in fisheries and supporting industries, and protect against the depletion of ocean food stocks. Also, legislation is needed to require carriage of a portion of our coal exports on U.S.-flag ships.

Bilateral agreements between the U.S. and individual trading partners are essential to increase U.S. sailings and maritime employment. An equitable share of any renewed grain shipments to the Soviet Union must be carried in U.S. vessels. An improvement from the previous one third shares for U.S., Soviet, and third parties should be negotiated. A desirable allocation would be a 40-40-20 share for each party.

The protections provided by the Trade Act of 1974 must be extended to the shipping industry. The act covers both manufacturing and service industries. However, the shipping industry, which is classified as a service industry, has not received the protections specified in the act. Any provisions on unfair trade practices or adjustment should be extended to cover the shipping industry and its workers.

To generate jobs, maintenance work on naval as well as commercial vessels should be done in domestic commercial shipyards. The Administration's cuts in subsidies for domestic ship construction must be restored. Programs are needed which support construction of commercial ships as well as naval ships in U.S. shipyards. Construction differential subsidy funds should not be deferred. Privately owned and operated U.S. vessels, crewed by American labor, should be used in operations supporting the U.S. Navy. The use of privately owned ships instead of naval vessels would provide substantial assistance to the U.S. maritime industry, and the Navy's resources would not be tied up in support activities.

As part of the 1982 budget act, the Congress for the first time has authorized ship operators of the American merchant marine to acquire new vessels abroad and still be eligible for federal subsidies to operate them. This serious blow to American ship-yards—which are already experiencing a severe decline in workloads and employment—must be repealed.

The Law of the Sea Treaty Negotiations have failed to address the key issue of labor and safety standards in what will surely become one of the most exacting and hazardous of occupations. Moreover, American firms have invested millions of dollars in research and development for seabed mining. Their employees have the skill and training to use the equipment. The Law of the Sea Negotiations have, however, assigned a subordinate and insecure role to U.S. enterprise and workers. To remedy these problems, the International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions and the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organizations (IMCO) minimum labor standards and safety standards already applicable to merchant shipping should be extended to seabed mining. American technology and skill should be made available to other nations in a common undertaking, but a more equitable share must be secured for American firms and workers.

Intercity Busing

Buses provide the only form of public transportation in many areas, particularly between smaller cities and towns. It is essential, therefore, that these routes be maintained. Currently, however, the Administration is backing legislation to deregulate the over-the-road busing industry. This legislation would remove restrictions on entry and exit from the industry. As a result,

less-profitable routes serving smaller communities would be abandoned while bus companies would saturate the more profitable routes.

Moreover, the Administration proposes to preempt any state authority to regulate the busing industry. States could not, therefore, fill the vacuum created by federal deregulation. While some intercity busing regulations may need revision, the total deregulation of the industry would result in a substantial curtailment of service to the public, and must not be allowed.

Railroads

America's railroads are an essential part of our overall transportation system, but have deteriorated over the years, causing job losses and a decline in services to the public.

The decay of the railroads occurred in large part because management invested its funds in non-railroad ventures instead of spending them on much needed improvements in track and equipment. Because the private sector has demonstrated it is unwilling to provide adequate rail service, the federal government has an obligation to maintain the nation's rail transportation system.

The Reagan Administration has given railroad management the opportunity to identify any regulations considered burdensome. In response, management has submitted a hit-list that includes every conceivable form of regulation covering the railroad industry. The targets include such essential regulations as track standards and procedures governing the handling of hazardous materials. The AFL-CIO will oppose any effort to eliminate regulations that protect workers, passengers, and communities.

The budget for Amtrak has been cut substantially for fiscal year 1982, with further large reductions slated in the future. As a result, the passenger rail network will be significantly cut back, fares will rise and thousands of jobs will be lost. In addition, Amtrak's remaining employees are being asked to accept drastic wage reductions. For these reasons, and because rail is the most efficient form of long-range transportation, Amtrak budget reductions should be restored, and further cuts should be vigorously resisted.

In a move that will result in a substantial decline in employment, the 1982 budget approved the sale of Conrail. If the system shows a profit between June 1 and October 30, 1983, the Department of Transportation is required to try to sell the system as a single entity until June 1, 1984. If Conrail does not meet the profitability test, or if it cannot be sold as an entity by June 1, 1984, the system can be sold piecemeal. In addition

Amtrak has been given the authority to take over Conrail's commuter rail service by 1983.

The AFL-CIO supports moves to improve the system's service in order to make Conrail more competitive and increase its profitability potential. Branch lines that provide essential service to isolated communities or that have the potential to become profitable should not be eliminated for short-term profitability considerations. Because the Conrail legislation will result in substantial job losses, adequate funding must be provided to protect the system's employees.

The AFL-CIO supports the proposal to develop 20 high-speed rail corridors between such major cities as Chicago and St. Louis, Detroit and Cleveland, and Los Angeles and San Diego. This would enhance the efficiency of our transportation system, and provide a substantial boost to employment.

Recent legislation raising employee contribution rates by 2 percent and employer contribution rates by $2\frac{1}{4}$ percent should ensure the solvency of the Railroad Retirement System, unless the decline in the industry's employment is greater than anticipated. However, the unemployment insurance benefits and sick benefits provided by the system are inadequate, and should be improved.

Mass Transit

WHEREAS, The public transportation system in the United States faces a critical situation today. A reversal of national policy has been advocated and is in the process of being carried out by the Reagan Administration. Federal assistance for rail and bus transit is to be phased down and out, and capital grants are to be severely cut back and held down, and

WHEREAS, This is a total reversal of urban mass transportation policy established by Congress in the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 and reaffirmed by Congress time after time in subsequent years. And it is founded on the false assumption that state and local initiative will be adequate to stimulate and maintain the mass transit facilities and services our urban centers need. As a matter of fact, it was the lack of these initiatives in the past that produced the need for stimulus at the national level and funds from the federal treasury. No reason or justification has been brought forth to justify such a reversal of urban mass transportation policy. We reject such a reversal of national policy and call on Congress to do likewise, and

WHEREAS, Public transportation is the only means of mobility for millions of Americans, especially the poor and aged. Our nation continues to need a national transportation policy which

will provide that at least 14 percent of the transportation needs of our urban areas will be served by mass transit systems by 1985. At present, only 4 percent of these needs are met; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That a national mass transportation policy must include these elements:

- 1. At the level of national policy, the urban mass transportation program must have as its objective the provision of funding under the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, as amended, amounting to a minimum of \$10 billion annually.
- 2. To insure continuation and expansion of existing programs, the formula grant portion for operating assistance in the Urban Mass Transportation Act must be revised to assure more equitable distribution of these funds on a per rider basis. Total funding available for operating assistance must be increased and extended to assure continuation of essential services and the predictability of such assistance for a five-year period.
- 3. Any program of expanded federal aid for mass transit must assure that each level of government shall preserve and promote the collective bargaining process; that must be left to local self-determination between the industry and the unions representing the workers in the industry.
- 4. The labor protection provisions of the Urban Mass Transportation Act must remain the exclusive responsibility of the Department of Labor.
- 5. Congress should make plain that the obligation to maintain labor standards includes the payment of prevailing wages to all workers engaged in the construction or operation of mass transit facilities in any program involving federal financial assistance. Such standards should also guarantee to rail and transit workers the first opportunity for employment on any new transportation system which is built with federal funds.
- 6. No-fare transit as a means to encourage ridership and thereby reduce energy consumption has proved itself in comprehensive, monitored tests such as those conducted in 1979 in Denver, Colorado, and Trenton, New Jersey. It has been estimated that a substantial percentage of our foreign oil imports could be saved daily by the adoption and implementation of a program of no-fare transit on a nationwide basis.
- 7. The transit industry must be prepared to respond to the expanded needs of urban travel as the energy crisis builds up. This will require an immediate tripling of our transit vehicle manufacturing capability, as well as the mobilization of other facilities and the preparation of personnel to handle the increased ridership. The federal and state laws which promote American

production should be vigorously enforced and regulations to implement them should be reviewed to make sure that U.S. production is encouraged.

Finally, rather than dismantle the existing federal transit support network, the Congress must insure that sufficient funds will be available to increase ridership by at least 50 percent in this decade and keep fares at reasonable levels while doing so. Such expanded federal efforts will increase employment, spread the flow of goods and service in our urban areas significantly, promote energy conservation and aid in the fight for clean air, and reduce our dependence on imported oil, as well as reduce inflation.

Rather than deny, through the budgetary, regulatory or administrative processes, that there is a federal transit purpose in this nation, continuation and expansion of existing programs must be insured. Of special importance is the continued maintenance and strengthening of the formula grant program for operating assistance, and especially assurance of more equitable distribution of operating assistance funds on a per rider basis. Total funding for operating assistance must be increased and extended—not phased out—to assure predictability of essential services in the future.

Waterfront Commission

Twenty-eight years ago, by Acts of the Legislatures of the States of New York and New Jersey (known as the "Waterfront Compact"), the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor was established as a temporary agency to correct abuses with respect to the hiring of longshoremen in the Port of New York-New Jersey.

The Company specifically directed that the Commission end its regulation of the hiring process at the earliest opportunity. The Commission since 1972 has repeatedly stated in its annual reports that it has "stemmed the tide of lawlessness" and corrected the conditions in the Port of New York that caused its creation.

Today, the hiring of longshoremen and individuals in related crafts is done by means of a computerized system jointly operated by the New York Shipping Association, Inc. and the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, in strict accordance with seniority. The NYSA and ILA have also created contractually a grievance procedure for the fair and speedy resolution of grievances relating to hiring and seniority. Moreover, the spectre of longshoremen being preyed upon by the fear of unemployment has been eliminated by the collectively bargained provision for guaranteed annual income.

The Compact further directed the Commission to avoid all interference with the collective bargaining process as recognized in the National Labor Relations Act. Nevertheless, the Commission in violation of its statutory mandate has repeatedly attempted to interfere with the collectively bargained seniority provisions of the hiring process and has interfered with and undermined the collective bargaining relationship between the parties in violation of Article XV of the Compact.

The Commission's work needlessly duplicates the safeguards for longshoremen already provided by the seniority, wage and fringe benefit provisions of the collective bargaining agreements between NYSA and ILA. This "temporary" commission costs approximately five million dollars a year raised by assessments on employers; assessments that impose a needless burden on shippers and consumers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls upon the legislatures of New York and New Jersey to re-examine waterfront conditions in the Port of New York with a view toward limiting the Commission's role so as to end the Agency's interference with proper collective bargaining and with the administration of sound and fair collectively bargained provisions governing the hiring of longshoremen.

Jones Act

The Jones Act reserved for U.S.-built vessels the domestic U.S. contiguous and noncontiguous ocean trades. This assured U.S. vessels a source of cargo which resulted in the growth and expansion of a U.S. domestic fleet.

An exemption which allows the Virgin Islands to remain outside of the Jones Act was granted during World War II.

As a result, a growing number of U.S. industries are seeking to locate there in order to circumvent the intent of the Act.

Tax concessions by the Island government allows U.S. companies to avoid federal taxes and import duties. These companies have all the benefits of being in U.S. rule with none of the costs other American companies face.

Present law also allows the Treasury Department to waive the Jones Act for national security reasons. This authority has been abused; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the delegates to the 1981 Convention of the AFL-CIO urge Congress to pass legislation that would end the Jones Act exemption for the Virgin Islands and to make sure that waivers are granted only for national security reasons.

Support of Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department is a chartered department of the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department is charged with the responsibility of supporting the union labels, shop cards, store cards and service buttons of all AFL-CIO affiliates, whether or not they are affiliated with the department, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department is charged with the responsibility of support for the Executive Council sanctioned boycotts and unfair listings of all AFL-CIO affiliates, whether or not affiliated with the department, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department renders various services to local unions of all AFL-CIO affiliates, whether or not affiliated with the department, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department was formed to serve the entire labor movement, and

WHEREAS, One of the major goals of the Union Label and Service Trades Department is to reach the officers and members of local unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That AFL-CIO affiliates are urged to renew their support for the Union Label and Service Trades Department by devoting a reasonable amount of space in their publications in support of the purpose and value of union labels, shop cards, store cards and service buttons, as well as sanctioned boycotts and unfair listings, and be it further

RESOLVED: That AFL-CIO affiliates, State Central Bodies and Local Central Bodies have a functioning Union Label, Shop Card, Store Card, Service Button and boycott committee at their conventions and local central body meetings.

AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show, managed and produced by the Union Label and Service Trades Department, is organized labor's showcase for bringing public attention to the skills and crafts performed by members of the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, The jobs of union men and women and the goals of organized labor are furthered by the publicity created by the AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show, and

WHEREAS, Greater understanding of the activities of organized labor would be enhanced by the participation of all AFL-CIO national and international unions in the show, which would also broaden the scope of exhibits and displays, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department, at its 60th Convention, unanimously agreed to extend to all national and international unions a cordial invitation to participate in the AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show of 1982 and 1983; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations also urge all national and international affiliates to participate in this event.

Union Label Week

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department strives to increase consumer awareness of buying union products and using union services, and

WHEREAS, The promotion of the union label, shop card, store card and service button is a primary objective of the Department, and

WHEREAS, Activities generated by the annual celebration of "Union Label Week" is a key ingredient in the Department's efforts to educate union members and all other consumers on the importance of supporting businesses that employ American union workers, and

WHEREAS, The 60th Convention of the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department officially designated the period of September 6-11, 1982 and September 5-10, 1983 each as Union Label Week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in convention assembled, also designate each of the above mentioned weeks as AFL-CIO "Union Label Week" for 1982 and 1983.

Support for the American Trade Union Council for Histadrut

WHEREAS, Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor in Israel, has been the architect of the State of Israel thereby im-

paring to its people the zeal to build a new kind of society based on the highest ideals of freedom, democracy and economic social justice, and

WHEREAS, The American labor movement through the American Trade Union Council for Histadrut, consisting of ranking labor leaders, has extended to Histadrut inspiring labor solidarity by means of moral and financial support to enable Histadrut to carry on its wide and varied health, welfare, educational and cultural programs, and

WHEREAS, The American Trade Union Councils for Histadrut have been established throughout the country as a means of expressing their sympathy with their fellow trade unionists in Israel; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we repledge our fraternal solidarity with the Histadrut and reaffirm our support for the democratic and equitable society Histadrut is determined to build in Israel to help preserve and enhance the labor, pioneering, social and ethical values which are the bases of modern Israel, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the 14th Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO go on record as expressing its continued support of the American Trade Union Council for Histadrut.

Jewish Daily Forward

WHEREAS, The Jewish Daily Forward will be 85 years old on April 22, 1982, and

WHEREAS, The Jewish Daily Forward is the only daily labor newspaper that served the trade union movement with dedication and devotion, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations has always considered the Jewish Daily Forward a true friend, and

WHEREAS, The Forward always marched forward with Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we wish the Jewish Daily Forward all the success, and may it continue to serve the labor movement for many more years.

The Great American Flag

WHEREAS, A rapidly developing legend in America is the Great American Flag, that massive symbol of our national pride

and unity, which may soon fly over the international gateway to America in New York, and

WHEREAS, This special American flag is our largest known national banner, weighing more than seven tons and covering more than 21 stories high, and two major city blocks long, and

WHEREAS, The Great American Flag, as it is affectionately known, is a union-made gift of the people of America to themselves and deserves to be displayed where all who view it will feel inspiration and pride, and

WHEREAS, The flag was dedicated on Flag Day 1980 and has been displayed on patriotic occasions since then, including at Andrews Air Force Base when the hostages were welcomed from Iran, and

WHEREAS, It is now our hope that this flag will fly from New York's Verrazano bridge by the Fourth of July 1982, and all national holidays and special occasions thereafter, as a permanent reminder to the world and to our fellow Americans of our national freedom and our trade union dedication to the ideals it symbolizes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American labor movement and union members everywhere join in a fund raising effort to achieve this noble goal as a permanent display over our international gateway, representing a nation of free people and free trade unions.

Made in U.S.A.

The role of labor in American life has been largely ignored or distorted by our two major national educators: schools and television. The significance of television's negative portrayal of workers is of particular concern not only to labor, but to many independent observers. Studies reveal the following:

- Television is a primary source of information for most Americans. The average set is on 6½ hours daily, according to A. C. Nielson Co., and the average American now spends 1,500 hours per year watching TV, while spending five hours per year reading books.
- Workers and unions have not been given fair treatment on television. Scholarly studies from 1954 through 1980 have found that TV's work world is populated with a disproportionately small number of blue-collar and clerical workers. A survey of network television conducted by the IAM in 1980 confirmed that workers, and especially unions, are overwhelmingly ignored or treated in a biased manner.

• Many observers believe public opinion regarding unions to be at an historically low point. If the one-sided view of unions in television and popular films is at least partly responsible for creating a climate which makes legislative and organizing goals of the labor movement more difficult to achieve, it is equally true that even a single popular program depicting labor in a sympathetic and engaging manner can have a measurable positive impact on union efforts. Norma Rae is a case in point.

Unfortunately, neither commercial nor public television has taken the initiative to create balance in the portrayal of workers and their unions. Television producers and writers report on the difficulties of obtaining support for projects which accurately portray workers' experience.

To date the most ambitious, potentially significant effort in the field is MADE IN U.S.A., a proposed 15-hour dramatic series examining the history of American workers and their unions in the period 1835 to 1945. The project is the result of several years' effort by a group of eminent American scholars and top television professionals.

MADE IN U.S.A. will explore the experience of workers in a number of times, places, and industries, and will provide a well-researched, balanced view of the American labor movement during the first century of American industrialization. The series will be shown in prime time, four times over a three-year period, and will also be distributed for educational use in high schools, colleges, and adult education.

Unfortunately, the evident need for a television series on labor, and the excellence of the preparatory work for MADE IN U.S.A., have not been sufficient to launch the production of the project. From the outset, MADE IN U.S.A. has been hampered by the anti-labor bias of public television institutions heavily dependent on corporate sponsors, a bias which became most evident in a widely publicized PBS ruling that MADE IN U.S.A. could seek funds from corporations, but not from unions. This ruling was finally overturned only after extensive discussion in the media and protest by unions and other interested groups.

Two years ago, AFL-CIO, its departments and affiliates began to actively support MADE IN U.S.A., and since then significant progress has been made. Most recently, the Industrial Union Department's Mass Media Committee has coordinated labor's efforts to make MADE IN U.S.A. a reality. Over 30 unions have provided seed money, and several have pledged significant production support. Moreover, major support has been obtained from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Xerox Corporation, among others.

All in all, well over \$1 million has been raised. Approximately \$15 million will be needed for the entire series.

MADE IN U.S.A. is now on the verge of beginning production. However, in the current political climate, a more concerted effort than ever will be needed to launch the series and secure the necessary funding for its completion and broad distribution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue its efforts to secure support for production, promotion, and distribution of MADE IN U.S.A., a TV series that will tell labor's story to the American people.

LaGuardia Centennial

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations is celebrating the centennial of the modern American labor movement, marked at this historic Fourteenth Constitutional Convention of AFL-CIO, held in New York City, and

WHEREAS, The New York City Central Labor Council AFL-CIO hails this century of American labor progress, proud of the lasting contributions to American labor made by distinguished men and women who have supported the fundamental causes of labor, the New York City Central Labor Council wishes to call special attention to the centennial of a great champion of working men and women, labor attorney, congressman, mayor of the City of New York, statesman—Fiorello H. LaGuardia, born on December 12, 1882.

In the years before World War I, Fiorello LaGuardia was the trusted lawyer of the struggling needle trades unions—the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; of New York locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; of unions in the United Hebrew Trades; and many other unions.

As congressman from New York City, Fiorello LaGuardia introduced labor and social legislation. With Senator George Norris, he wrote the first bill passed by Congress which freed labor from the punitive, detrimental, restrictive injunctions imposed by the federal courts to impede the growth and development of labor unions. The Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932 also outlawed yellow dog contracts which had kept workers from joining unions. The first landmark law showed the way for the New Deal legislation LaGuardia pioneered on behalf of labor.

As Mayor of New York City, during the Great Depression and World War II years, 1934 to 1945, Fiorello LaGuardia was the constant friend of AFL, of CIO, concerned with the health, welfare, education, working conditions of every man, woman and child. He left us a better city, a better nation, a better world.

The New York City Central Labor Council recommends that AFL-CIO, affiliates and members, join in honoring the memory and contributions of Fiorello H. LaGuardia and in celebrating his centenary year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That AFL-CIO joins in the celebration of the centenary year of Fiorello H. LaGuardia.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 16th Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20006

LANE KIRKLAND President THOMAS R. DONAHUE Secretary-Treasurer

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